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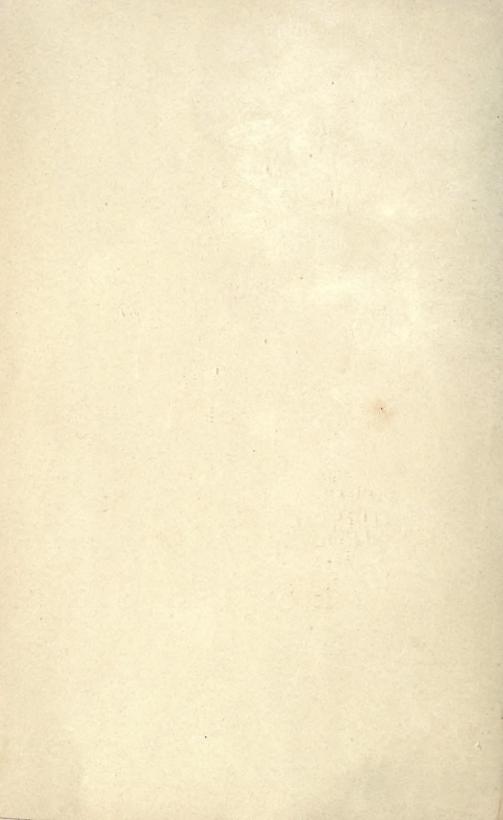
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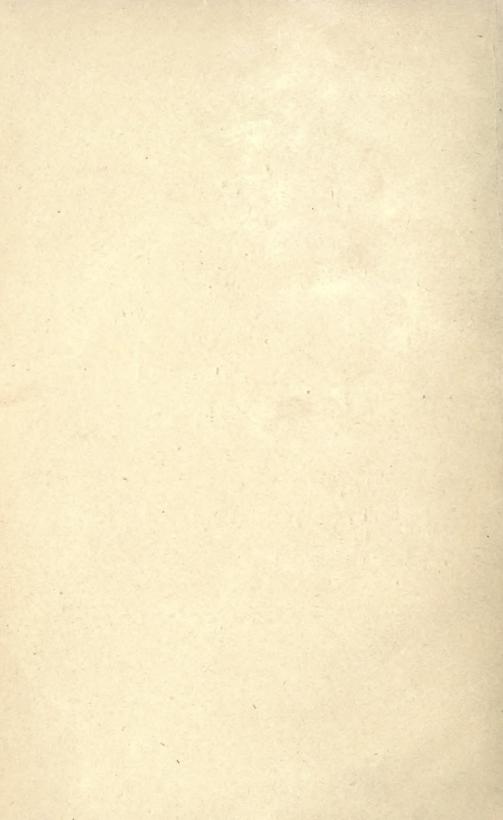
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McKEAN HISTORICAL NOTES,

BEING

QUOTATIONS FROM HISTORICAL AND OTHER RECORDS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

MACIAIN-MACDONALDS,

MANY CALLING THEMSELVES

McCAIN, McCANE, McEAN, MacIAN, McIAN, McKEAN, MACKANE, McKANE, McKEEHAN, McKEEN, McKEON, Etc.

ARRANGED AND MOSTLY COMPILED BY

FRED. G. MCKEAN, U. S. N.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

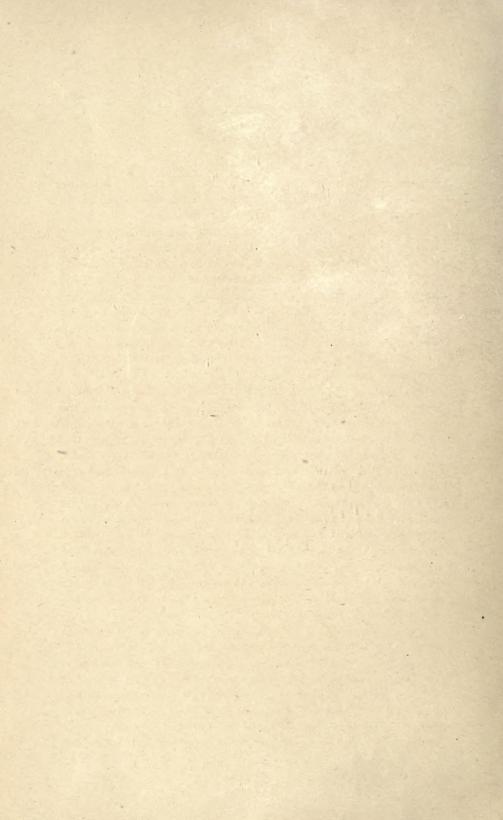
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INTRODUCTORY.

Some explanation to the subscribers to McKean Genealogies seems necessary for the appearance of these Historical Notes, so-called, and for the delay connected with them.

Mr. Cornelius McKean of Perry, Iowa, having decided more than fifteen years ago to compile the genealogies of all families of McKeans, McKeens, etc., in the United States and Canada, wrote, about 1894, for the family history of one of the bearers of the name in Washington, D. C. The latter replied that his branch had no known history, but that no account of the McKeans would be complete without notes from certain volumes in the State Department Library, containing some quaint records of McKean-McDonalds of bygone times, and including the official inquiry into the Glencoe Massacre, etc.

In an evil day he was prevailed upon to promise a copy of some of those documents, and Mr. Cornelius McKean in his prospectus to subscribers, made such mention of the Historical Notes intended to form Part II. of the combined work, that undue expectation was raised in reference to their importance.

At first the materials seemed scanty, and much irrelevant matter was introduced, especially about the MacDonalds, O'Cahans and others, while the gentleman in Iowa urged the inclusion of illustrations and other things, which, while extremely interesting, appeared to have little to do strictly with the subject. One of the consequences was that in the course of time there was too much bulk for the wishes of the generality of the subscribers, and when its publication approached, the cost of the whole was found to be much more than some of the subscribers had specified that they would pay.

Finding there was no disposition to join him in printing the whole at a sacrifice and distributing copies at less than cost, the compiler of the historical part decided that his section of the work was of secondary importance, and that Mr. Cornelius McKean ought to publish the Genealogies as originally proposed; the Historical Notes to be laid aside until a more favorable opportunity should arise, and then to be re-written, omitting much matter which did not particularly concern the McKeans, and

awaiting the completion of that monumental work *Clan Donald*, in which we were promised some new information about the two branches of the Clan MacIan.

The last volume of that fine work having been published toward the end of 1904, there seemed little further excuse for delaying our Historical Notes, excepting interference owing to the printers' strike. They have therefore been completely remodelled and almost re-written for about the third time, and are intended to be sent to the subscribers of the *McKean Genealogies*, and to a few others who may be interested in them, in spite of many imperfections known by the compiler to be contained therein.

Perhaps some future McKean may build upon the printed Notes and others in manuscript as a foundation, and produce the work much to be desired by later bearers of the name.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The notes originally collected were gathered from a series of works in Washington, the full range of which was accidentally discovered by the compiler during investigations in the State Department Library,—on the origin of names. It is claimed that the volumes alluded to, together with others not mentioned, several hundreds in number, are unique in this country, and the issue of them is still in progress in England. They are for the most part, publications in print, of old parchment and other records in various collections in Great Britain; were "Transmitted by Direction of the Master of the Rolls," and, as a printed fly-leaf in several of the folios sets forth, are "To be perpetually preserved in the Library of the Department of State of the United States." To writers on archæology, history, theology, philology, genealogy, military matters, law, sociology and other subjects, they would be invaluable, if they were more widely known. They are in several languages and styles, but the ordinary student would probably have little difficulty in deciphering the meaning of most of them. The prompt courtesy with which the Librarians, and particularly Mr. William McNeir, granted the privilege of making the extracts alluded to, and others from their collections is hereby thankfully acknowledged. (The volumes have been recently removed to the Congressional Library.) Some notes obtained from books more accessible to the general public, several of them examined in Boston, Philadelphia and Washington by the compiler's eldest son,—an indefatigable collector of material; and some illustrations and other valuable matter obtained from Scotland by Mr. Cornelius McKean, were afterwards incorporated therewith, and as for the work Clan Donald, just finished, the references to it with which these Notes bristle, testify to our consideration of its value as an authority which every McKean, McDonald and Scot should read, even if he may not possess it.

THE NAME.

It is generally agreed now, that the name McKean, believed to be already spelt in more than four hundred different ways, means the son of John. Those who have paid attention to the subject are aware that all the forms of John found in almost every European language and in a few Oriental ones, are referable to the name of the beloved disciple. It was therefore Hebrew and means in its present shape, "The Lord's grace," or in its old uncontracted form, Johanan, "Jehovah is gracious." In each country inquirers should try and find out to what particular John the sons in whom they are interested may be traced. In our case the Mc, standing for mac, mic, mhic, M', Mc and when aspirated, vac, vic, Vc, etc., points to a Scottish derivation first, but also in some instances to the north of Ireland. It will be noted that the small, hard c in Mac, became a capital K in this as in a great many other Gaelic names.

McKean as a name can be traced through various spellings in at least two large historically known families, those of Ardnamurchan and Glencoe, to their first progenitors, respectively Eoin Sprangaich, or John the Bold, toward the end of the 13th century; and Iain Fraoch, or John of the Heather, in the very beginning of the 14th century; and we will try to devote a Section of the Notes to each of these Clans. There is also an Iain of the Clan Gunn, perhaps in the 15th century, but as they were Norse or Manx in origin and translated their name later to Johnson, they need not be included in our Notes. Besides these, there is occasional mention in old books, of various spellings of the name in Scotland and elsewhere, the bearers of which cannot always be certainly connected with the two important branches; they have been grouped in a Fourth Section called "Other McKeans."

That two or more Johns or Ians should transmit their names

to long lines of descendants, denotes that they must have been men of mark; for, while a certain Angus, for instance, might be a MacIain, his son might be a MacAngus, and the Iain might disappear in the second generation; or if there was a succession of Johns, as in the immediate descendants of Iain Fraoch, the name MacIain might persist in that family for a while; but here we have two notable Johns, owners of considerable land, hence they gave rise to families or clans of MacIains, further distinguished by the name of their territory,—one of Ardnamurchan, the other of Glencoe.

In the line which we are tracing, there were, long ago, Mac Somerleds for a couple of generations, then certain of the descendants became MacDonalds for a couple more, after which most of the families continued to be MacDonalds, while two at least, descended from the Johns in question, were first and comprehensively MacDonalds, and second and more specially MacIains. but some using both names indifferently, sometimes one brother calling himself MacIan and another calling himself MacDonald. and in some old books MacEan may be indexed MacDonald and vice versa. Certain families of MacDonald have called themselves MacKechin (sons of Hector?) or Darraghs (Oaks), and later in one notable case at least in the 18th century (that of the Duke of Tarentum), changing back to MacDonald, etc. Conversely, as mentioned in Stewart's Highlanders, a Scot might change the clan name to something entirely different, like Robertson of Straloch, the composer of "The Garb of Old Gaul," who took the name Reid (Red?) because the head of the family was always addressed as Baron Rua (Roy?), and the latter for the two-fold reason that the estate had once been erected into a barony, and the then holder had red hair.

While there is a multitude of ways of spelling the name of Mc-Kean (we take this for the standard as being that of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and therefore probably the best known form in the United States), there are at least three well recognized ways of pronouncing it: first, as if it was spelt McKane or McCain (both spellings occur as family names); second, as if spelt McKeen (which is frequently met with), and third, as if it is still, as it was hundreds of years ago, MacIan or MacEan, in three syllables and almost like McKeehan (a spelling which is not uncommon). The last pronunciation is

probably the oldest, certainly denotes the origin, and, unless McKane was also pronounced in three syllables (McKiain), is perhaps the most correct; but it is hopeless outside of Scotland; if it is tried on any one to whom the name must be given, he will probably ask you to spell it, and immediately say: "O you mean McKane,"—or McKeen, or something which you don't mean.

Several authors in Scotland and elsewhere prefer to write the two names which concern us most, in the forms Macian and Macdonald, and those spellings are generally followed through the following notes, in quotations; but, apart from being equivalent to writing John and Donald without capitals, it might lead an un-Gaelic outsider to pronounce the former name Mashan.

The genealogist who restricts himself to the nineteenth century spelling of a name, will seldom go back many generations in his history,—certainly not many centuries; for, even some time after the discovery of printing, the spelling of most names was a matter in which every man did that which was right in his own eyes; and when his friends and enemies wrote the name, they generally did so from the sound, and took strange liberties with it. On the other hand, the writer who includes every combination of letters which can be claimed to look or sound like the modern name, will probably err in the other direction. It is sometimes difficult to strike the happy mean, and the compiler, while omitting many examples which might be questioned, has thought it well to include others, even stray references to possible wanderers from home, and a few who are not McKeans except in a faint resemblance to the name,—leaving it to the reader to ignore those which may be considered too far-fetched. Great care has been taken to follow the ever-varying old spellings of names and words, and the occasional absence of punctuation. though these will be pain and grief to the proof-reader.

THE MANNER OF COMPILING, ETC.

The only liberties taken with the original text,—besides necessary selection from a large mass of possible material, have been the substitution now and then, of a brief synopsis in modern language, for irrelevant matter in archaic form, or an abridgment made in later narratives,—to save time and space. But few omissions or extenuations have been purposely made on the score of those possible progenitors who were not "unco guid."

Over-sensitive McKeans can rest assured that quite as many peccadilloes or dark crimes can be brought to the charge of names more famous in story,—if we go back far enough, not only in Scotland but in other countries; they should remember that the possession of land was a continual source of dispute and warfare; that flocks and herds seemed to belong to those who could capture and hold them; that property was almost looked upon as common by the law of nature, and that, among all sorts and conditions of men, from the laird to the gillie, some actions of a questionable nature from our present point of view, must be expected. As to the terms "traitor" and "rebel,"—they are sometimes titles of honor.

There was too much fighting going on for modern ideas, because each clan was against almost every other; the Highlanders were often against the Lowlanders; occasionally both were dissatisfied with the King; sometimes all united against their grasping Southern neighbor: these and other circumstances combined to make the Scots a fighting, turbulent and sometimes lawless people, but they were probably no worse than the average of their day, in fact, it has been remarked that highwaymen plied their trade in the suburbs of the very city of London, long after the Borders were comparatively safe.

The Notes have been arranged according to date as nearly as could be conveniently done, though that method is disastrous to style, and may make continuous reading as uninteresting as a chronology or dictionary would be.

The arrangement of the four genealogical charts is believed to be original, though the facts were obtained from several sources, chiefly *Clan Donald*; the compiler heard when too late for its examination, that Lang's *History* contains a chart of that Clan. To avoid folders the charts were reduced to the size of the page, making the lettering small: we trust that those readers who refer to the charts will be content to use a magnifying glass if necessary.

It is hoped that the glossary will be found useful and fairly correct.

The index is particularly full under the letters Mac, Mak, Mc, etc. But without further explanation or apology for admitted errors of omission and commission, we will proceed to the subject, hoping that if we are honored with criticism, it will be lenient.

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Acta Dominorum Concilii.

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Canadian Magazine.

Carew section of State Papers.

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Cromwell's Remembrances.

Croniques . . . de la Grant Bretagne. Jehan de Waurin.

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Domesday Studies. Dove.

Early Metrical Tales. Laing.

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Exchequer Rolls of Scotland,

Fair Maid of Perth. Sir Walter Scott.

Finales Concordiæ.

Genealogical Collections. Macfar-

Genealogy, etc., of Antient Scottish Surnames. William Buchanan.

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General Armory. Burke.

General Atlas of the World. Adam and Charles Black.

Geography of the Clans. Johnston.

Grameid, Heroic Poem. James Philip.

Guide to Scotland. Adam and Charles Black.

Highland Clans. J. S. Keltie.

Highlanders and Highland Regiments. Stewart.

Highlanders of Scotland. Skene Highlands of Scotland. Andrew Lang.

Historical Account of Iona. L. Maciean.

Historical Notes. Tindal.

History of England. T. B. Mac-aulay.

History of Ireland. Keating.

History of Scotland. Andrew Lang. History of Scotland. William Robertson.

History of Scotland. Tytler.

History of the Camerons. Alexander Mackenzie.

History of the Chisholms. Alexander Mackenzie.

History of the Clan Gregor. 'Chartulary.' A. G. M. MacGregor.

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History of the Highlands. Skene. History of the Macdonalds. Mackenzie.

History of the Western Highlands. Donald Gregory.

Hundred Rolls.

Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, etc.

Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ asservatum Repertorium.

Irish Pedigrees. O'Hart.

Landed Gentry. Burke.

Last Jacobite Rising. Terry.

Last Macdonalds of Isla. Fraser-Mackintosh.

Law Dictionary. Black.

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The Great Marquess. John Wilcox. Tour of the Hebrides. James Boswell.

Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.

Vestiarum Scotiorum. Sir Richard Urquhart, Knycht.

West of Scotland in History. Irving.

What is my Tartan? Frank Adam. Widow of Glencoe. Aytoun.

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MCKEAN HISTORICAL NOTES,

BEING

QUOTATIONS FROM HISTORICAL AND OTHER RECORDS.

SECTION I.—PROBABLE EARLY ANCESTORS.



FROM LOGAN'S SCOTTISH GAËL

A few thoughts about the really probable ancestors of the McKean-McDonalds and those who are supposed to have preceded even them, may be acceptable. The subject has been handled at length and with much learning in the book *Clan Donald*, I., *Chap.* I., and we will try to present briefly a very small number of the facts mentioned therein.

Archæologists assert that they have discovered traces in Scotland, of a prehistoric non-Aryan race, resembling the Iberians and Aquitani, representatives of the so-called Stone Age. After them came a Celtic Aryan race, the Gaidhels or Gaels, and still

later, another Celtic Aryan race, the Britons. When the Romans came, they mentioned among other inhabitants the Caledonii and Picts, who remained unconquered.

Several new races appeared afterwards, but the Scots of Dalriada concern us most, as they settled Islay, Mull and some of the Southern Isles, having come probably from the North of Ireland. In the beginning of the 6th century Erc, king of Dalriada died, leaving three sons, Fergus, Lorn and Angus; Lorn occupying the district afterwards named after him, as well as most of Argyle, while Angus acquired Islay and Jura. The question of succession caused civil wars, and Scottish history is dim for three centuries and dark in the 9th, but Angus MacFergus, King of Ulster, had subdued the Dalriads; the Danes and Norwegians invaded the islands and coasts, and the latter people under Harold Harfager the Fair-haired, made settlements; treaties were concluded in which the rulers of the west of Scotland purchased some of the islands, but the Vikings left traces of themselves among the Highland people and in the place-names, while the language was unaffected.

In the 10th and 11th centuries the name Alban came to be recognized for part of what is now Scotland, and soon after, the name Scotia came into being. English influence of various kinds began to be felt under Malcolm Canmore, then for a while all foreigners were banished, until David I. in the 12th century introduced a Norman baronetage and a new feudal system.

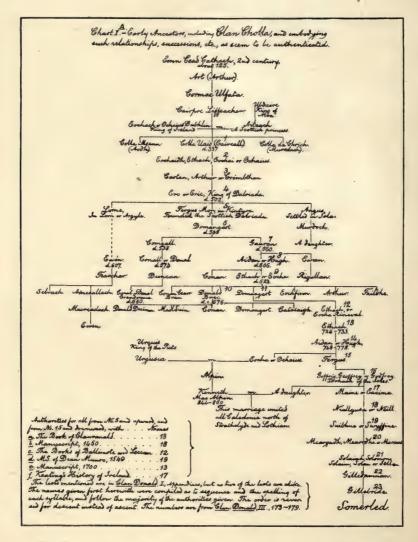
Having hastily glanced at the earlier history of Scotland, we have arrived at the period when the Clan Donald is about to appear, and the question has been debated whether Somerled, the founder of the Family of the Isles, was of Norse, Pictish (and therefore ancient Celtic), Scoto-Irish or foreign Gael origin. The authors of the work we have already quoted from, are convinced that the Clan Donald are descended from the Dalriadic stock of Argyle (I., 28). Before the clan was known by the name Donald, it was called the Clan Cholla, tracing back to Colla Uais, a King of Ireland in the 4th century, and earlier still, we have a few names until we reach an eminent supreme Irish King, Conn Ceud-Chathach, who lived in the 2nd century.

We will first endeavor to give a suggestion for a genealogical chart I^A, of the Early Ancestors, based chiefly upon statements in various shapes to be found in *Clan Donald*, supplemented

by notes from several other sources, put together we fear, with more pains than skill or correctness, but which must serve for the present. The second chart, I^B, is reinforced by scraps of information in foot-notes and otherwise, about some of the persons mentioned, and is brought down late enough to include the two Iains or Johns who concern the McKeans; also some other people either as progenitors of certain clans or for various reasons. Other charts follow, carrying on the two Mac Ian families as far in both directions as the compiler has been able to obtain notes for the purpose.

It is not pretended that any American family of McKean can be certainly traced hereby; the utmost hoped for is that living descendants of Glencoe or other MacIans or MacDonalds, who have family records or traditions by which they can fill the gaps between their remotest known ancestor and some name on one of the later charts, may be reasonably confident that they can make up an unbroken line for nearly 1800 years.

After giving some data in Vol. I., whereby the ancestors of Colla Uais might be traced back about two hundred years, the compilers of Clan Donald begin the Genealogy of The Lords of the Isles in Vol. III., 173-184, with Colla himself; this is the more strange, as they call attention to the error of Sennachies who drop several generations. We will take the liberty of restoring some names and of heading our chart with Conn in the 2nd century, and call attention to the notes on the chart, showing the authorities and the manner in which the first list consisting of eighteen ancients was made up. But this is not the only difficulty: in trying to construct a new and extended genealogical list, with an accompanying chart, two instances are found in which names are given of men who succeeded and reigned. and vet are not set down in the Clan Donald Genealogy; and on the other hand, at least one name is retained in that Genealogy, with the statement that the man bearing it did not succeed to the sovereignty. No doubt the apparent discrepancies arise from the intention to recognize the line of Dalriada, while noting interferences only by the line of Lorn and vice versa. Taking the total of 23 names, and dividing it into 975, the years from 125 to 1100 A. D., will give the large average of 42.4 years for each "reign," justifying the remark that some of the rulers must have lived to almost patriarchal age.



In the 2nd century of our era, there is said to have flourished the celebrated Irish King, Conn Ceud-Chathach, whose name has been classicized into Constantinus Centimachus, later Anglicized into "Conn of the Hundred Battles." He is said to have been ruler over "Conn's half," and later supreme King of Ireland "in Tara's Halls," and to have been one of the greatest heroes of antiquity. Some genealogists who have few misgivings

19

about the misty past, have connected the descent of the Clan Donald, and through them the McKeans, with the mighty fighter Conn or Cond, from whom the province Connaught derives its name.

McKeans who are not 'satiate' with the antiquity of Conn, whose date has been given as 125 and 165 A. D., may be referred to his grandfather Tuathal, surnamed 'the Legitimate.' He is said to have led the free clans or Scots* in a combination against the servile classes, and to have founded a kind of feudal system which ruled Ireland for a while. He also formed Meath ('the middle'), the central county of Ireland, from portions of the four provinces, in order to supply the table of the over-king. (Encyclopædia Britannica, article Ireland, from which source some of these early notes are drawn.)

The successors of Conn were Art or Arthur, 212-220 A. D., giving a very long reign for Conn if the figures are correct, and Cormac, 254-277, the latter of whom had sent a fleet across "the plain of the sea," and obtained sovereignty of Alba or Scotland about 240; each ruler had several names or titles; it may be noted that there is already a gap between reigns. Then came three brothers who carved out principalities or "sword-lands" for themselves: each brother had a first name Cairbre, but the one on our list was known as Liffeacher from the river Liffey, near which he was nursed, and acquired territory in Antrim. Ireland, called Dal Riata, a name which still survives in the local title "the Route;" this Cairpre or some of his successors also acquired lands in Scotland. He was slain by his nephews the three Collas, a name thought to be given them because they were rebellious, and to mean a strong man. After the rule of Eochach, one of the Collas, named Uais or "the Noble," became king about 327, and we will now generally follow the book Clan Donald, III., 173-179.

Few particulars are known about this celebrated ancestor Colla Uais or Uathais; but among other things he is claimed to be either the fifth or the eighth in descent from the famous Conn, and to have been one of the sons of Eochaid or Ochaius Dubhlin, King of Ireland, and of a Scottish princess Aileach, "a mild, true woman, modest, blooming," etc., and daughter of

^{*}Some titles have been transferred; the present Irish were the Scots of old times, the Scots were Albans and the men of Albion were Britons

Uhdaire, King of Alba. Colla Uais is said to have lived fifteen years in Scotland, to have reigned only four years and to have died in 337.

Eochaidh, spelt in various ways, and latinized into Ochaius, was the son of Colla and succeeded him. Art, Arthur or Cartan followed, also known as Crimthand of Munster and otherwise, but with all his names some of the Annals omit him altogether. He was the father of Erc or Eric, mentioned early in this Section as having three sons, Fergus, Lorn and Angus, all of whom settled in Scotland or the Isles, after receiving the blessings of Saint Patrick in their former home.

Here we will make a short digression: in the 5th century, it is mentioned in the *Tripartite Life of S. Patrick*, that the Saint came into the district of Calrige, and baptized (baptizauit). . . Caichán. . . and the latter offered Caichán's fifth part to God and to Patrick; the boundaries of the land are given. . . It is also mentioned that a lady "of the race of Caichán took the veil from Patrick," etc. If ch is silent, as in Conchobar, McConachie, etc., these Caicháns were possibly the ancestors of the O'Cahans and O'Canes, Keans, Keens, etc., mentioned incidentally in Buchanan's *Genealogy of the McKean Family*.

Resuming:—The three brothers, sons of Erc, landed in Arygle in 466, and Erc is said to have died in 502. Fergus, one of the brothers, is called Mor, the great or first. He is said in the Encyclopædia Britannica, to have founded a new Dalriata, known as Airer Goedel, now Argyle, ultimately developed into the Kingdom of Scotland, appropriating the name of the mother country, or at least that which was its Latin name [the inhabitants of Ireland being originally called Scots].

At this point we come to a great difference in the lists, for, whereas the names in Vol. I. of *Clan Donald* give about 18 numbers, the Genealogy in Vol. III. gives 23 names, by inserting several between two Ferguses, said above to have been dropped by the preservers of traditions.

Domangart, son of Fergus, held the sovereignty three years only and died in 505. He was succeeded by Comgall his eldest son, who died in 538 [and does not appear in any of the lines], but Gauran or Godfrey his brother succeeded him [and was the progenitor of the line from which Clan Donald sprang].

Gauran wielded the sceptre over the Dalriads for twenty-two

years, and died in 560. Conall or Donal, the son of Comgall, succeeded his uncle Gauran, reigned sixteen years, died about 574 [and is apparently not in either list].

Aidan or Hugh, the son of Gauran, next succeeded. He held the principality for thirty-eight years, and died in 606. He had a brother named Ewan, whose son was Rigullan.

Ethach or Eocha of the yellow locks, son of Aidan, assumed the sovereignty over the Dalriads and died in 623. He had a brother named Conan, and sons Conan Cearr Bran, Domangart, Eochfinn, Arthur and Failbhe.

Donald Brec, the son of Ethach Buidhe, took the sceptre, neither as the immediate successor of his father, nor of his elder brother Conan (in power for three months), but as immediate successor to Fearchar, son of Ewen, of the race of Lorn, who reigned for sixteen years. Donald died after reigning either five or fourteen years. He was succeeded by Conal or Donal, son of Duncan, and grandson of Conal (already mentioned), son of Comgall of the race of Fergus. Domgall, also of the race of Lorn, reigned over that race at the same time. Conal died in 660. Donald Duinn, his son, succeeded, and Maolduinn, his brother, succeeded him. The former reigned thirteen and the latter seventeen years. They had a brother named Conn. Ferchar Fada reigned over Argyle after Donald Brec; was of the Lorn race, and died in 697, after reigning twentyone years.

Domangart, the son of Donald Brec, did not succeed to the sovereignty [yet his name appears to be in this line]. His brother Catasaigh, also died young.

Ethach or Eocha Rineval, son of Domangart, succeeded to the throne after the death of Fearcher Fada, for two years. The son of Fearcher took up the sceptre after his death, and Selvach, another son of the same, succeeded Ainceallach. Duncan, a descendant of Fergus, by Comgall, next succeeded. He died in 721.

Ethach, son of the above, assumed the government in 726 and died in 733. During his son's minority, Muireadach, the son of Ainceallach, was sovereign prince for a short time, and was succeeded by Ewen, his son.

Aidan or Hugh, the fair son of Eacha of the steeds, succeeded. He held the power thirty years and died in 778.

It must have been in this reign that St. Regulus or Rule brought certain relics of St. Andrew to the northeast coast of Scotland, "under orders delivered by an angel—to found a church wherever his ship should be wrecked. This event happening near the present harbor of St. Andrews, and the King of the Picts receiving him kindly, the church was forthwith founded, and St. Peter, hitherto the national saint, was deposed, and St. Andrew put in his stead, 731–747". (Lansdale's Scotland, Historic and Romântic, II., 164.) Who will gainsay this, except that Fifeshire is hardly on the N. E. coast of Scotland?

Fergus, the son of Aidan or Aodhfin (fair-haired), next succeeded. He reigned three years, and during and after his son's minority the sceptre was held by Selvach 2nd of the race of Lorn, for twenty-four years. Eocha Anfhuinn (weak), the son of Aidan, followed, reigned thirty years, and after him Dungal, the son of Selvach, swayed the sceptre for seven years. Eocha or Ochaius established the throne by his marriage with Urgusia, daughter of the Pictish sovereign, an alliance which enabled his grandson Kenneth MacAlpin, afterwards to claim and acquire the Pictish sceptre in right of his grandmother. The descendants of Ethach kept firm hold of the Dalriadic sceptre to the exclusion of the offspring of Fergus, and enabled them to extend the whole of Caledonia without extirpating the Picts as asserted by historians. Ethach was succeeded by Alpin, and Alpin by Kenneth, who removed the seat of his court from the western coast of Argyle to the interior. [From Dunnad on Loch Criman (?) to Scone, near Perth.] The descendants of Fergus in the West owned "Argavl" and some of the Isles, and are named as follows:

Maine, or Eacime; his son was:

Godfrey, whose daughter was the wife of Kenneth MacAlpine, and who was Toshach* of the Isles.

The Danes ravaged the coasts of Scotland and of the Isles towards the end of the 8th century, about the period we have reached, and it may be interesting to note what is given as the origin of the Thistle of Scotland. "The Danes thought it cowardly to attack an enemy by night, but on one occasion

^{*}Toshach or Toisech was a Scottish officer immediately under the maormor: the latter was the hereditary magistrate and administrator of a certain territory: first a tributary king. (Standard Dictionary), Military leader, distinct from hereditary chief. (Clan Donald. I., 419).

deviated from their rule. On they crept, barefooted, noise-lessly and unobserved, when one of the men set his foot on a thistle, which made him cry out. The alarm was given, the Scotch fell upon the night-party, and defeated them with terrible slaughter. Ever since the thistle has been adopted as the insignia of Scotland, with the motto: Nemo me impune lacessit' [No one attacks me with impunity].* (Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable).

Returning to dry names, the son and successor of Godfrey was:

Nialgus, or Neill; his son was:

Suibne, or Swyffine; his son was:

Mearrdha, latinized Marcus; and Hailes in his Annals states that Kenneth, King of the Scots; Malcolm, King of the Cambri, and Marcus, King of the Isles, entered into a bond of treaty for mutual assistance and defence in the year 973. This shows that Lords of the Isles existed before Somerled's time.

To prove this last fact more in detail, and to relieve the dulness of the list of names, we will insert the following:

The Latin Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden (in four volumes) relates that in 973, King Edgar of England sailed around Britain, and among others who did homage to him were "Kinath scilicet rex Scottorum, Malcolmus rex Cumbrorum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii quinque, scilicet Dufnal [Donald], Siferth, Hurald, Jacob [James], Juchil . . . "This mention of a Mac, king of the greater part of the Isles in the 10th century, is interesting, because it is generally supposed that the title "Lord of the Isles" was not assumed until four hundred years after, by John MacDonald, and yet Roger de Hoveden writes this in the 12th century. It can hardly refer to a different aggregation of islands, for, in another reference to the "eight kings who rowed King Eadgar on the Dee," Matthew of Paris in the Chronica Majora (seven volumes in Latin, written in the 13th century), mentions "Maccus of Man," called by others "King of the Isles; and history states Harold I. placed Orkney, Shetland, the

^{*}We have tried to work out a design for our cover, embodying conventional thistles in form of St. Andrew's cross, for Scotland; flanked by shamrocks for Ireland; anchors for the seafaring Ardnamurchans as well as for the "Good Hope" that all McKeans should have; the whole surrounded by the Stars beneath which so many Scotsmen and Irishmen have found home and prosperity.

Hebrides and the Isle of Man under Norwegian government in the 11th century, apparently grouped together. (Encyc. Brit., article Hebrides.) O'Hart in Irish Pedigrees, states that the MacDonnells and McDonalds intermarried with these [?] Norwegian earls. Before leaving the above entry, it may be stated that the king of the Scots was evidently Kenneth II., and that the land of the Cumbreæ of King Malcolm comprised what is now Argyle, Ayrshire, etc.

To return to the genealogy; the son of Mearrdha was:

Solaim, Solan or Sella, whose son and heir in the Lordship of Argyle and the Isles was:

Gilledomnan. It was during the lifetime of this chief that the Western Isles of Scotland were completely subjugated by the Norsemen.

In the 11th century, Gilledomnan "servant of (St.) Adamnan," grandfather of Somerled, held sway over a considerable portion of Argyle, and his daughter became the wife of Harold Gillies, one of the Kings of Norway, but Gilledomnan was finally driven from his territories by the Scandinavians and retired to Ireland, where he devoted himself to pious duties. His son Gillebride made ineffectual attempts to recover his inheritance. (Abridged from Clan Donald I., 36, 37.)

Gilledomnan was succeeded by

Gillebride or Gilbert,* who is mentioned by the first Highland genealogist as 'rig eilean Shidir,' that is, King of the Sudereys or Southern Isles. His daughter was the wife of Wymund MacHeth, Earl of Moray. He derived another Gaelic title from living in a cave in Morvern when depressed in fortune. From him are said to have descended, besides the Clan Donald and Clan Dougall, etc.,—the Maclachlans, MacEwin of Otter, and others. His son was Somerled rex insularum, or, as he is known in Highland tradition, Somhairle Mor Mac Gillebhride.

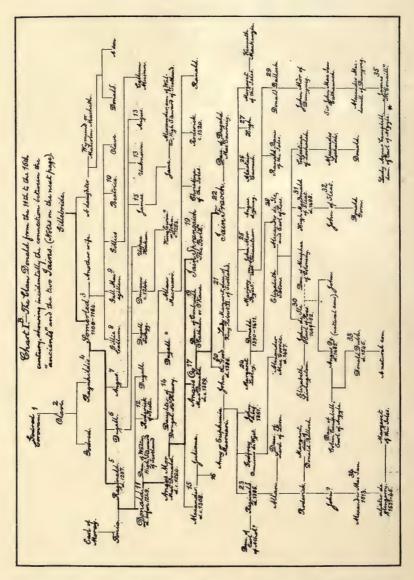
In the 12th century, Somerled, "the terror of the Norsemen and the Achilles of his race," displayed his "immense force of character, high military talents, great energy and ambition . . . with . . . political sagacity and prudence." After a great defeat he achieved a signal victory over the Scandinavian host, drove out the Norsemen, assumed the title of Thane or Regulus

^{*}It is a trifle, but Gilliebride is Gaelic and means Servant of (Saint) Bridget, while Gilbert is Teutonic for Bright pledge,

of Argyll, and was about to carry the war against the Isle of Man and other Isles when Olave (the Swarthy), King of Man, gave him his daughter Ragnhildis (or Effrica) under remantic circumstances (in 1135). A battle between Godred the son of Olave, and Somerled, was followed by a treaty of peace, and all of the "islands south of the point of Ardnamurchan, along with Kintyre, came into the possession of" Somerled. But two years after, war broke out again and the latter captured the Isle of Man, and still later waged a war with Malcolm IV. of Scotland, who had threatened his subversion: at first Somerled was successful and peace was established between them in 1157, and which lasted about seven years. Upon the renewal of the war, and when Somerled, with some 15,000 men from Ireland, Argyle and the Isles, and 164 galleys sailed up the Clyde to Greenock, he seems to have been assassinated with his son at Renfrew in 1164 ("he. and his swne bath was Left dede slayne in to that plas"), his army dispersed, and the Celts began to give way to the increasing power of the Gaels and of feudal institutions. "The dust of the 'mighty Somerled' reposed within the sacred precincts of the monastery" of Saddell, the ruins of which, together with a view of the Castle, are shown in Clan Donald, from which work, (I, 41-54) most of these particulars are taken. The Castle is a "large, square battlemented tower still in a state of perfect preservation." Though out of chronological order, it may be mentioned here that it was in Saddell that Angus Og, Lord of the Isles, first received Bruce; but "As Barber informs us, Angus Og took his royal guest for greater security to the Castle of Dunaverty, another Kintyre stronghold, and residence of the Lord of the Isles:

> 'And for mair sekyrness gaiff him syne His Castle of Donaverdyne.'"

death of Somerled of Argyle, and as he is spoken of as the founder of the dynasty of the Lords of the Isles, a few words may be devoted to him in this place, and a brief sketch of his immediate descendants will be given presently, although some of the latter are referred to again, under their appropriate dates. His name in the Norse language was Somerled, in Gaelic Somhairle, meaning Samuel, and he was also known as Sorley, a name of some note afterwards in Ireland. From Clan Donald I., 53, etc., and other



sources, we cull the following details. "Somerled, King of the Isles and Argyle, 'the Sleat historian tells us, was a well-tempered man, in the body shapely, of a fair piercing [blue] eye, of middle stature and of quick discernment." [Another writer calls him in Latin "Pirate, and most famous robber"]. He

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was the paternal grandfather of *Donald*, the progenitor of the Mac-Donalds, founded a family which played no ignoble part in Scottish history, and is said to have had either three or four sons: Reginald, his successor; Dugall, from whom came Lorn, the MacDougals, etc.; Angus, who with his three sons was killed in 1210, and so his male line became extinct; and, according to

some, Olave. "Reginald, son of Somerled, married Fonia, daughter of the Earl of Moray. Their issue: Donald," aforementioned and who "married a daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland. Their issue: Angus Mor MacDonald, who succeeded to the Lordship of the Isles, married and had issue: Alexander his successor, Angus Og, and John or Ian Sprangaich, progenitor of the MacDonalds or MacIains of Ardnamurchan. After the death of Alexander, Angus Og succeeded his brother in 1308, 'both in his lands and in the chiefship of the clan.' He married Anna or Agnes, a daughter of Conbuidh O'Cathan or O'Kane; their eldest son John, who became Lord of the Isles [and has been called 'First Lord' married first, Euphemia or Amy Macruari; their son Reginald was ancestor of the Clanranald MacDonalds. John, son of Angus married second, 'Lady Margaret, daughter of Robert II., now reigning king of Scotland.' 'Donald the eldest son by the second marriage, of John of Isla, succeeded his father as Lord of the Isles to the exclusion of the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, and was ancestor of the MacDonnells of Isla, and the MacDonnells of Antrim, Ireland. John [or Iain] Fraoch, son of Angus Og MacDonald, was the progenitor of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, patronymically known as MacIans, or as it is now written: MacKean, McKean, McKeen, McKane, McCain, McKeon, and in various other forms." A graphic view of the above and other relationships may be obtained from Chart IB, of these Notes.

Reginald, "King of the Isles," and son of Somerled, died in 1207. Confusion has sometimes arisen in the early history of the Isles, as to which son was the older in this case, Reginald or Dugall, because the rule of primogeniture was not followed, and lands were often "gavelled" or divided among the male members of a family. The seal of Reginald, shown herewith, "adhibited to his charter to Paisley Abbey is thus described:— "In the middle of the seal on one side a ship filled with men-at-arms; on the reverse side the figure of an armed man on horseback with a sword drawn in his hand." (Clan Donald, I., 60, 61, 66, from Orig. Par. Scot.). Both sides are presented.

Donald of the Isles, grandson of Somerled, died before 1249, after having, as is reported, made a pilgrimage to Rome to obtain absolution for deeds which, even in the 13th century and in Scotland, were considered those of violence; in return for abso-

lution he enriched the Church with valuable gifts of land. (Clan Donald I., 71, 72, etc.).

In 1292 there is a version in Old French, of a document in which "Alisaundre des Isles fuiz Anegus fuiz Douenald" swears on the Holy Evangels to maintain "la pees" of Scotland and especially "des Ylles;" for at that time his alliance by marriage



with the family of Lorn, and associations with the English interest made him "take the part of England in the efforts to accomplish the conquest of Scotland;" in 1295 he is called Alexandrum de Hyle, and about 1297 he held the office of Admiral of the Western Isles under the English crown; in 1308 he was fighting against Bruce, was taken prisoner and died very soon after. (Adapted from Clan Donald, I., Appendices).

A safe conduct was granted to "Angus MacDonald, 'Lord' of the Isles, and to Alexander his son," both mentioned above, in 1292 at "Berewyke super Twedam." In the same year "King John Balliol ordered Alexander of Argyle and his baillies of Lochaw to summon Sir Angus, the son of Donald, and others to do him homage within fifteen days after Easter, wheresoever he



might be in Scotland. Though his citation was repeated in 1293, Angus Mor of Isla seems to have given no response . . . the year of his death cannot be exactly determined [but is supposed to be about 1294] . . . he was buried at Columkill the sacred storehouse of his predecessors, and guardian of their bones.'' (Adapted from *Clan Donald*, I., Appendices, also p. 84).

As to Angus Og, son of Angus Mor MacDonald of Isla, in 1301 he was at first zealous as his brother Alexander in helping the English, and in his letter to Edward I., reproduced in *Clan Donald*, he superscribes himself as his ''humble and faithful Engus de Yle,'' states that he is awaiting orders, and promises, God helping, to destroy the enemies of the most noble man and most excellent lord the King.

"Angus, fifth in descent from Somerled, was a faithful and uncompromising friend of Robert Bruce in his attempt to free his native land from the harsh grasp of England. He sheltered this monarch, after the disastrous defeat at Methven, in his castle at Dunaverty, August, 1306." (History of the Clan MacLean). And he did so "at a time when his [Bruce's] fortunes were most depressed and his prospects of success least hopeful." (Clan Donald I., 93). This is well, but the reasons are not clearly known why Angus Og changed sides after 1301.

From the History of Clan MacLean and other sources we gather that 1314 was the date of Bannockburn, fought on "Monday, June 24. It was at this battle that the power of the English Edwards was broken, and the sovereignty of Scotland once more recognized. Robert Bruce's army consisted of thirty thousand men, while that of Edward has been estimated at over one hundred thousand. The Scottish army was arranged in a line consisting of three square columns. The reserve, composed of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Kintyre, and the Isles, formed the fourth line of battle, and was commanded by Bruce in person. In this reserve were five thousand Highlanders, under twenty-one different chiefs, commanded by Angus Og MacDonald, father of John, first Lord of the Isles," and of Iain or John Fraoch.

Before the attack, Bruce is thought to have made an address similar to that immortalized by Burns in the lines beginning:

"Scots wha h'ae wi' Wallace bled, Scots whom Bruce has often led, Welcome to your gory bed, Or to victory."

"After the battle was fully on, Bruce brought up the whole of his reserve, which completely engaged the four battles of the Scots in one line . . . Step by step the Scots gained ground, and fortunately, in a critical moment, the camp followers, desiring to see the battle, appeared over the hill, and were taken by the English for Scotch re-inforcements. Immediately dismay spread through the English ranks, which, the Scots noticing, made a fearful onslaught, which broke the English army into disjointed squadrons. The flight at once became general."... It will be remembered that Scott gives the supposed words of Bruce at the supreme instant:—

''One effort more and Scotland's free!

Lord of the Isles, my trust in thee

Is firm as Ailsa rock;

Rush on with Highland sword and targe,

I with my Carrick spearmen charge;

Now forward to the shock!''

As a reward for the great services of Angus Og, "Bruce conferred upon him, in 1314, the Lordship of Lochaber—forfeited by the Comyns, and the lands of Duror and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Jura, Coll and Tiree, which had belonged to the family of Lorn" (History of the Clan MacLean). Logan's Clans of the Scottish Highlands relates that the MacDonalds, who were always eager to take on themselves "the first press and dint of the battle, received from King Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, the honour of taking position on the right of the army, and they were ever most jealous of this privilege, alleging that no engagement could be successful if it were overlooked, and they adduce the defeats of Harlaw and Culloden (1411 and 1746) as striking instances of this truth. Holding this position in the Scottish armies they have performed prodigies of valour."

"Angus Og married Margaret or Agnes, a daughter of Guy or Conbuidh O'Cathan or O'Kane, one of the greatest barons of Ulster, Lord of Limvady, and Master of the whole County of Derry. The O'Cathans were originally a branch of the Cinel Eoghain, descended from Neil of the nine hostages, King of Ireland [about 379] . . . The lady's portion took the form of one hundred and forty men out of every surname in O'Cathan's territory . . . (Clan Donald, I., 100).

Angus MacDonald, called Angus Og, *i. e.*, the Younger, [his father being Angus Mor, *i. e.*, the Older] died in Islay about 1329 or '30. The pictures of his interesting tomb

"... in Iona's piles

Where rest from mortal coil the Mighty of the Isles," and of his father's seal, are copied from ClanDonald, I., 102. The biorlin or galley is a notable feature in both figures, and the

interlacings which form the continuation of the animals' tails og the tombstone, are characteristic of the Celtic (and Gaelic?) schools of decoration; the triplication of the letter i in "Filiii", is a curious slip of the chisel in the epitaph: "Hic jacet corpus Angusii filiii Domini Angusii Mac Domhnill de Ila."





SEAL OF ANGUS MOR OF ISLA 1248-94.

Legend.

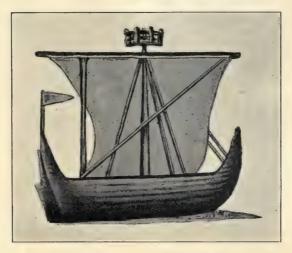
SR. ENGUS DE YLE FILII DOMNALDI.

TOMBSTONE OF ANGUS OG OF ISLA LORD OF THE ISLES, OB. 1330.

Inscription.
Hic jacet corpus Angusii filii Domini
Angusii Mac Domhnill de Ila.

Having touched upon the earlier ancestors of the MacIains, and having reached the two Johns who immediately concern us, we will proceed to the other Sections, and hope they will be found less tedious than the first.

SECTION II.—MACIAINS OF ARDNAMURCHAN.



From Clan Denald II., 144.

This once important sept of the great Clan MacDonald obtained its local title from the territory of Ardnamurchan about midway on the outer west coast of Scotland, the name meaning in Celtic "The promontory by the great ocean." The nature of the country made hardy hillmen of the inhabitants, and as it was nearly surrounded by water they also became bold mariners, and the fact that the Norsemen settled to the north and south as well as in the outlying islands, brought them into fighting condition.

The authors of Clan Donald, II., 145 et seq., state that the district was referred to by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, in the 7th century as "the rough and very rocky region which is called Ardamuirchol." Also that when the district of Lorn was erected into a sheriffdom by King John Baliol in 1292, it included the lands of Ardenmuirich,—the first reference to them in any public record. Moreover, that in 1309, Robert Bruce granted a charter of Ardnamurchan with other lands to Angus Og MacDonald. Finally, and this concerns the McKeans, Angus Og bestowed Ardnamurchan and Sunart, together consisting of 87,753 Scotch acres, on his brother Eoin or Iain Sprangach, or John the Bold, always recognized by the bards who kept the traditions, as the progenitor of the MacIain family afterwards spelling their name

in various ways, but gradually approaching the modern ones. A few facts relating to Angus Og are given in the Section referring to Early Ancestors.

Before coming to the genealogical chart and detailed account of the Ardnamurchan family, it may be interesting to compare two short, partial lists of the chiefs of the clan. The older one is quaint and free from punctuation, and is by Dean Munro of the Isles, about 1549 (?); it is quoted in Genealogy, etc., of Ancient Scottish Surnames by William Buchanan of Auchmar. The Dean says: "Heir followis The Genealogies of the Chieff Clans of the Iles; Collected by me Sir Donald Monro Heigh Dean of of the Iles....Clan Ean of Ardnamorachin, the fourte house of the Clan Donald. Alexander M'Donald Donaldi M'Ean Johannis M'Aloir Alexandri M'Angus M'Ean Achechterwache M'Angus Moire, who was the lord of the Iles, and him I impe to the tree." The other list is from The Last Macdonalds of Isla, which says: "The following pedigree is merely tentative as I have no particulars to verify a complete table....The . . . names are found, but the descent was not always by father and son."

Angus Moire lord of the Isles.
John Achechterwache (son of Angus.)
Angus M'Ean (son of John).

Alexander M'Angus.

John M'Aloir (son of Alexander). Donald M'Ean (son of John).

Alexander M'Donald (son of Donald M'Ean).

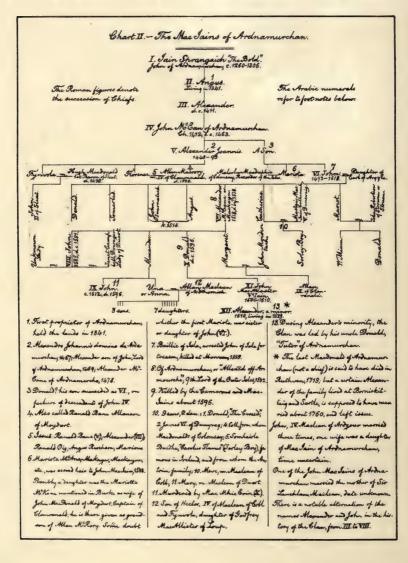
	gus Mor of Isla.
I.	John, younger son of the above.
2.	Angus1342.
3.	
4.	
5.	Alexander
6.	John1494-1519.
7-	Alexander
8.	John1588.
9.	John Oig
10.	John vic Allister 1602-11.
TT	Allister 1622-20

Between the rival claimants Bruce and Baliol, England took possession of Scotland for a while.

I. IAIN espoused the cause of Baliol and was granted more lands, afterwards confirmed to him by Edward I. of England; the English King also advanced him to the dignity of Baron of the Exchequer* of England, and he became one of the magnates sworn in Parliament to treat of affairs in Scotland; was furthermore appointed Justice of the Lothian and to other offices, from

^{*}The treasury, called exchequer . . . from the checked cloth . . . which covers the table there, according to Blackstone.

which, as the Reverends Macdonalds write: "it appears that John Sprangach possessed no mean share of the undaunted spirit and bold activity which characterized the conduct of his ancestors, and in him we have a worthy progenitor of a family destined to play a not unimportant part in the history of the Highlands."



II. Angus, the son of the above, and therefore the first Mac-Iain, possessed Ardnamurchan in 1341 by charter from David Bruce, and later under his cousin John the Good, Lord of the Isles, though there is no account of a reconciliation between the Bruces and Iain, nor of the death of the latter, which apparently occurred about 1306. Little is known of Angus, but as *Clan Donald* states, II., 151, "we may infer from the contents of the charter of 1341 that he was a man of considerable importance in the Highlands."

There are few facts known about the family in the next century and a half besides the names of the head of the clan and some dates, but this is not surprising: as vassals of the Lords of the Isles, the MacIans of Ardnamurchan followed the banner of those chiefs, and continued to support them in all their contentions. The history of the minor is merged in that of the larger family, and this no doubt accounts for the meagre references we find to the family of MacIain during its early history." (Clan Donald, II., 151, 152).

III. ALEXANDER of Ardnamurchan, the son and successor of Angus, was in the battle of Harlaw, and we will refer to that event.

From various sources we summarize that the immediate reason for the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles, was to obtain the rights, (through his wife), to large territories claimed by Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of the Kingdom. The MacDonalds with some seven other clans, (the Macleans, Mackintoshes, Camerons, Mackinnons and Macleods are mentioned), took Inverness the highland capital, after some fighting, and then assumed the offensive with about ten thousand men, but were met upon the field of Harlaw near Aberdeen, July 24, 1411, by a smaller but much better equipped force, including the followers of twentyfive clans and names, among whom were the Ogilvies, Lindsays, Carnegies, Lesleys, Lyons, Irvings, Gordons, Abercrombies, Arbuthnots, Bannermans, Leiths, Douglases, Barclays, Mowats, Duguids, Fotheringhams, Frasers and Burnets. "It was not a battle between civilization and barbarism,—the men-at-arms in mail were as far removed from the civilization of to-day as were the kilted warriors." The result is variously given as indecisive and as a defeat, yet it is said to have terminated the struggle between the Celtic and the Saxon races. The Lowland army seems to have been almost annihilated, but Henry IV. of

England was too busily engaged to help Donald, who retired to his Island strongholds where his fleet was superior in strength, and he seems to have held his own. An old ballad says:

There was not sin' King Kenneth's day, Sic strange, intestine, cruel strife, In Scotland seen as ilk man says—Where monie likelie lost their life, Whilk made divorce tween man and wife And monie children fatherless.

And monie a ane will mourn for aye, The breme battle of the Harlawe.

The 31st and last stanza gives the date in old style:

In July, on St. James his euin,
That four-and-twenty dismal day,
Twelve hundred, twelve score, and eleven,
Of yeirs sin' Christ the suthe to say; etc.

The field is said in Taylor's Pictorial History of Scotland, I., 22, to get its name from several boundary stones (Hare or Hoarlaws), and that book refers its readers to Laing's Early Metrical Tales for probably the most ancient Scottish historical ballad of any length now in existence for an account of the battle; and also states that a bagpipe tune with the title of the battle was long extremely popular.

Moreover, "Sir Walter Ogilvy, on the 28th of January, 1426, founded a chaplainry in the parish church of St. Mary of Uchterhouse, in which perpetual prayers were to be offered up for the salvation of King James and his Queen Johanna; and for the souls of all who died in the Battle of Harlaw." (Diplom. Regior. Indices, I., 97; Tytler, III., Appendix, 156).

The Annals of Loch Cé* also mention in 1411, what must have been the battle of Harlaw:—''A great victory of MacDomhnaill of Alba [MacDonald of Scotland], king of Airer-Gaeidhel [Argyle], over the Foreigners of Alba; and MacGilla-Eoin of MacDomhnaill's people was slain in the counter-wounding of that victory." [MacGilla-Eoin has become MacClean, MacLean, etc., but this old form indicates that it means the son of the follower of St. John].

IV. JOHN McEan of Ardnamurchan succeeded to the chiefship about 1412, and was one of the witnesses at the Chanonry

^{*}Annals of the Old Abbey of Inis-Macreen, an island in Lough-Kea [or Key].

of Ross, to an important document, in 1420. (Clan Donald, II., 153; Tytler, III., 396). But he was also a fighter: in 1427 King James I. of Scotland having apparently instigated the death of John Mor Tanistear, a powerful MacDonald and founder of the family of Dunyveg and the Glens of Antrim, followed up this act by another of treachery. He summoned a convention of the Highland chiefs at Inverness, arrested them, imprisoning some and executing others; Alexander, Lord of the Isles, after his release from a short custody, stirred up a rebellion on these accounts as well as his being deprived of the Earldom of Ross, and MacEan of Ardnamurchan, loyal to the MacDonalds, "threw himself with all his energy. . . into the conflict."



· From MacIntosh's Last MacDonalds of Isla.
INVERLOCHY CASTLE.

The Lord of the Isles was at first successful in his invasion of the main land in 1429, but owing to the activity of the King and the desertion of some of the clans, he sued for peace and appears to have made an ignominious submission.

Donald Balloch, in 1431, a cousin of Alexander, enraged beyond measure at the pusillanimous submission of his kinsman, collected a fleet and an army in the Hebrides, ran his galleys into the neck of sea that divides Morvern from the island of Lismore, and disembarking at Lochaber, swept over that district with all the ferocity of northern warfare. At Inverlochy he met a superior force of the king's army, commanded by Alexander, Earl of Mar, and Alan Stewart, Earl of Caithness. With their broad-

swords and battle-axes, the Islesmen commenced a furious attack upon the well-armed and disciplined Lowland knights. The royal army was cut to pieces; the Earl of Caithness, with sixteen of his personal retinue, and many other barons and knights, were left dead on the field. Mar, although severely wounded and barely escaping being made prisoner, succeeded in rescuing the remnant of his army. In the engagement, Donald Balloch made a main 'battle' and a front of his men. The front was commanded by MacIain of Ardnamurchan and John Dubh MacLean and the main 'battle' by Ranald Bán, while 200 Keppoch archers sent swarms of arrows from their position on the steep hill overlooking Inverlochy Castle, and later joined in with clay-



From Lansdale's Scotland, I., 214. TANTALLON CASTLE AND BASS ROCK.

mores and Lochaber axes. The royal army sustained a loss of nine hundred and ninety, while that of Donald was but twenty-seven men. Donald first descended on the Cameron and Chattan lands, and later, with his plunder, retired to the Isles, but the King bringing a superior force against him, he fled to Ireland after several encounters and married a daughter of Conn O'Neill. The King gave some of the Keppoch-MacDonald lands to Mackintosh, whence arose a feud between those clans for over two hundred years.

For his services at Inverlochy, John MacIain of Ardnamurchan obtained lands in Isla from the Lord of the Isles after the release of the latter from Tantallon Castle; and also certain lands in Jura from Donald Balloch; later he became one of the councillors of John, Lord of the Isles, and in 1463 appears as a witness to a charter by that nobleman. (Clan Donald, II., 153).

"A Charter by John de Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, to his brother Hugh (son of Alexander), of the Isles, Lord of Slate, and Fynvola nin Allister vic Iain of Ardnamurchan," is dated 28th June, 1409, but the correct date is in all probability 1449. It bears the signature of Alexander MacIain of Ardnamurchan. (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).



From Photo. by Messrs. G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.
From Clan Donald, I., 126.
RUINED KEEP OF ARDTHORNISH CASTLE.

Mention may be made here, chronologically, of a Note to Scotts' Poem, The Lord of the Isles, stating that from the castle of Artornish, upon the 19th of October, 1461, John de Yle, designing himself Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, granted, like an independent sovereign, a commission to Ronald of the Isles, and Duncan, arch-dean of the Isles, empowering them to treat with King Edward IV. of England; John agreeing to become the vassal of Edward, and to assist in subduing the realm of Scotland. [For which he was branded as a traitor in 1462, and deprived of the Earldom of Ross]. MacLean says: "The castle is lo-

cated upon the point of a peninsula that projects into the Sound of Mull. The ruins now consist chiefly of the remains of an old tower, with fragments of outward defenses. The site of the spacious apartment in which the ancient *parliament* met is still pointed out, and in the face of the rock, overhanging the bay of Ardtornish, is the precipice over which the transgressors of feudal times were thrown."

V. The next chief signs himself "ALEXANDER Joannis (son of John) Lord of Ardnamurchan," on a charter in 1467. And he was one of the Council of the Isles in 1469. A daughter of Alexander MacIain, called Fynyola nin Alister, married Hugh MacDonald of Sleat in the same year, and the Lord of the Isles granted lands to Hugh and his heirs male. Mariota, said to have been another daughter, married Malcolm Macduffie of Colonsay, and of this couple more hereafter. A daughter Florence was the second wife of Allen Macrory of Clanranald. In 1478 the name of the chief witnessing a charter, appears as "Alexander McCane of Ardnamercho." The work Clan Donald, II., 154, says: "Alexander MacIain evidently was a man of considerable influence and power. The family now held, besides Ardnamurchan and Sunart, lands in Kintyre, Isla and Jura; but, as we shall soon see, it had not vet attained the zenith of its greatness in the Highlands." The date of his death is uncertain, and by some authorities he is said to have had a son Donald, who, however, may have died young.

While endeavoring to restrict these Notes to the fortunes of the MacIans, we will touch now upon those of the MacDonalds of the Isles, the families having been intimately connected, and the affairs of both having approached a crisis. Angus Og MacDonald, the second of the Isles, and "Rider of the dappled steed," was assassinated at the instigation of the Island of Moydart, on account of the disputed lordship of the Island of Lewis. The Annals of Loch Cé state that in 1490 MacDomhnaill [Aenghus] of Alba, i. e., the young Lord, the best man in Erinn or in Alba in his time, was unfortunately slain by an Irish harper, i. e., Diarmaid Cairbrech, in his own chamber." Mackenzie's account (History of the Camerons, 34, note), is: "At Inverness, in 1485, Angus Og of the Isles was assassinated by an Irish Harper, Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat Seannachaid." Clan Donald gives the date 1490, and the name of the assassin as Art O'Carley, and

goes on to say: "With the death of Angus Og, the fortunes of the family of the Isles, took a downward tendency." The next step in their fall is related thus:

A feud between the MacDonalds and Mackenzies, beginning in an insult by the latter, followed by the burning of a church full of Mackenzies by the former, had resulted in the battle of Park (1488 or 1491) in which the MacDonalds under Alexander of Lochalsh were defeated. "This insurrection cost them the lordship of the Isles, as others had the earldom of Ross. At a parliament held in Edinburgh in 1493, the possessions of the Lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the crown. In the following February, John MacDonald, the aged Lord of the Isles, made his appearance before King James IV., and made a voluntary surrender of every thing, after which, for several years, he remained in the king's household as a court pensioner." (History of the Clan MacLean).

"Thus fell the Lordship of the Isles, and with it the dynasty which for hundreds of years had continued to represent, in a position of virtual independence, the ancient Celtic system of Scotland." (Clan Donald, I., 280).

We have seen several spellings of the McKean name already, but hereafter we will find several more. Alexander McCane was succeeded by his nephew—

VI. JOHN MAKANE, Macian or MacIain, who was Chief of Ardnamurchan from 1493-1518, was a notable man in his day, and perhaps the greatest of the Clan.

"John inherited as 'grandson and heir of John, son of Alexander, the son of [Angus the son of] John of Ardnamurchan"... Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat historian, bastardizes this chief, whom he calls 'John Brayach,' but this is Hugh's way, and there are no grounds for putting in the bar sinister. Hugh describes him as bold, intrepid, and not altogether sound in his mind... on the contrary, he appears, judged by the standard of his time, to have been no less famed for his statesman-like qualities than for his personal prowess. He was one of the first of the vassals of the Isles to make his submission to James IV on the forfeiture of the Island Lord in 1493. He married a lady of the Argyll family, by whom he is said to have had: 1. Donald. 2. Somerled. 3. A son whose name has not come down. 4. Alexander, who succeeded." He must have had two more sons,—John

Sunertach (of Sunart), and Angus, who are named as having been killed in his last battle at the Silver Crag. "He also had a daughter [Catherine] who married Alastair MacIan Chathanaich, 5th chief of Dunnyveg; and another, Mariot, who married John Robertson of Struan." (Clan Donald, III., 211 and II., 154).

On the 18th of August, 1493, James IV. held Court at Dunstaffnage and received the homage, "among others, of John of Dunnyvaig, John Cathanach his son, John MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and Alexander of Lochalsh": he knighted the first and last and confirmed them in their lands. Among other Clan Donald vassals, "John Abrachson of Glencoe and Alister MacIan of Glengarry had not yet acknowledged the new order of things. The only chieftain of the Clan Donald who made any show of loyalty was MacIan of Ardnamurchan, whose allegiance and services at this time and afterwards were amply requited at the expense of the other clansmen." (Clan Donald I., 285). That is, at the expense of those who showed no loyalty.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland show that in 1494, "On the 14th of June, John Makane of Ardnamurchan had a charter of lands in Isla and of the office of bailie there. which he had before held of the Lord of the Isles. On the 20th of August, the King (James IV.) had returned to Stirling, but it is said that, even before he had left the Isles, Dunaverty had been recaptured by John of Isla, Jotherwise known as Sir John of Dunnyveg and the Glinns, also by his son John Cathanachl, the governor put to death, and his body hung over the wall in sight of the King and his fleet. This called for prompt action, and accordingly, about the 8th of September, a messenger-at-arms was despatched 'to summond Schir Johne of the Ilis of tressone in Kintyre.' He and four of his sons were quickly taken by John Makane of Ardnamurchan, and brought to Edinburgh, where they were found guilty and executed." [Probably early in 1495]. See also Lang's History of Scotland, I., 348. The Illustration is from the Last Macdonalds of Isla.

By royal charter, certain lands in Isla were "granted to John MacIan of Ardnamurchan for apprehending Johannes de Glennys militis, Johannes Caynoch, ejus filii, et complicum suorum," "which was done "treacherously" [as one book states without giving authorities for the charge] at the instigation of Argyle, whose daughter he had married, and for the alleged

reason of a feud between them on account of Sunart and lands in Isla. (Adapted from *Clan Donald*, I., 288, etc.) Lang also (I., 350), mentions valuable concessions received.

The fact that the King entrusted this Makane with the arduous and hopeless task of preserving order in the Highlands shows the importance of the Ardnamurchan branch. James IV. twice visited Dunstaffnage and Mingarry during 1493 [and 1495] in the course of his visits of inspection. Exactly one hundred years later will be found a reference to another Johnne McAne



DUNAVERTY CASTLE ROCK, KINTYRE.

of Ardnamurchane, showing the persistence of favorite baptismal names in some old families.

The book Clan Donald, I., 296, charges the MacIan of 1495 with assassinating Alexander of Lochalsh during the repeated rebellion of the latter in attempting to recover the Island Lordship, but the authorities are mistaken in some at least of the details, as that book shows. Probably MacIan was acting here in his official capacity of Baillie as in the case of John of Dunnyveg.

In 1496, according to the History of the Camerons, John Macian of Ardnamurchan, Donald Angusson of Keppoch and

two others "appeared before the Lords of Council, and bound themselves, 'by the extension of their hands,' to the Earl of Argyll on behalf of the king, to abstain from mutual injuries and molestations, under a penalty of £500."

The Annals of Loch Cé note for 1499: "A great deed was committed by the King of Alba whose name was Stuart, viz.:—he hanged John Mor MacDomhnaill, King of Innsi-Gall [the Hebrides], and John Cathanach,* and Alexander Ballagh [Domhnall?] on the same gallows." This appears to refer to the occurrence already mentioned as having taken place in 1494.

Hugh Macdonald, as quoted in Clan Donald, II., 161, 162, relates a circumstance beginning with playfulness but resulting in tragic misfortune; it may be abridged as follows: Two of the chief's sons, Donald and Somerled, were "lusty, young strong men," and one at least was so good a wrestler that he threw all opposers; the chief, though old, wished to have a bout with him, and the son, after trying in vain to excuse himself, threw his father; whereupon the latter intimated that the son would sooner overcome his father, than expel Alexander, John Cathenach's son, from the Glens of Ireland. Immediately the two sons started with a levy of men to Ireland, and upon landing were met by Alexander. Some of the allies of the MacIains, headed by "the Smith of Islay," deserted to the enemy, and in the resulting battle the MacEans were routed, and most of them, with MacEan's two sons were killed. Alexander at once took the MacEan boats and crossed over to Islay, where he surprised the Castle of Dunivaig, besieged MacEan in the Island, and the latter surrendered on condition that he should give up Islay to Alexander, and that Alexander should marry his daughter. [It is worthy of note that the opposition chronicler begins by calling John of Ardnamurchan "MacIain" and ends by writing it "MacEan"].

As intimated in the last paragraph, MacIain of Ardnamurchan in 1497 gave his daughter in marriage to Alasdair, son of Sir John [of Islay], one of two sons who had escaped to their property the Glens of Antrim [in 1494] (*Lang*, I., 350). In our suggest-

^{*&}quot;The Ann Ult. say that he was the son of John Mor MacDomhnaill. The sobriquet 'Cathanach,' was given to him from his intimate connection with the O'Cathains (O'Kanes) of Cianacta, or Keenaght (in Londonderry) amongst whom he seems to have been fostered."

tions for a Genealogical Chart, the married couple appear as Catherine (MacIain) and Alexander Macdonell of Dunyvaig: the marriage must have been lamentable at first, judging from Clan Donald, III., 376, where it is stated that the child was Donald, surnamed, according to an Irish genealogical manuscript, malak, i. e., cursed. The reason given is that "he was cursed by his mother before his birth, because her husband had killed her five brothers, in vengeance for the treachery wrought upon his family by her father, MacIain of Ardnamurchan. She prayed that her unborn offspring should never see light of day. and the alleged result was that the first-born came blind into the world. Another authority says he was deficient in courage. which was the reason for his not succeeding to the lordship. Donald, who was called Balloch, had two sons, Alastair and Donald Gorm." But it appears that there were nine sons and two daughters born to Alexander and Catherine, so we may hope if there ever was the curse related, it yielded later to blessing.

In 1498, MacIain had a serious quarrel with Allan MacRuarie of Clanranald about the lands of Sunart, and the dispute being referred to the King, [James IV.], the latter decided in MacIain's favor and gave him a charter of them. Apparently wishing to crush the Macdonald families, the King divided up the lands of the Lordship of the Isles among his supporters, and MacIain was naturally well rewarded, and in one of the charters he is given the Castle of Mingarry, mentioned hereafter. "John Mac-Iain of Ardnamurchan had now become the most powerful chieftain of the Clan Donald, and the most effective instrument in the hands of the King for their destruction." . . . To the end of James's reign he was in constant communication with that monarch, the King making frequent visits to Castle Mingarry and holding courts there. Frequent references are also made in the records of the time to payments made to messengers carrying letters to MacIain from the King." (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 158, 159).

The History of the Clan MacLean also states that the rebellion of 1499–1506, caused by the revocation of some charters recently granted by the King, and headed by Donald Dhu and the MacIans of Glencoe, found MacIan of Ardnamurchan on the royal side and that the struggle resulted in the breaking up of the confederacy of the Island lords.

Upon the suppression of the first rebellion, "the King, for the faithful and willing service rendered him by his 'dear John Makkane of Ardnamurchane," confirmed him in all the lands formerly granted to him, with the houses and fortalices of Castle Mingary in Ardnamurchan, and Dunnyveg in Isla, and in the bailiary of that Island"—[which brought on great trouble with the Macleans]. (Clan Donald, II., 139).

Further references to the grants mentioned above are made as follows:

"John MacIain received from the King [James IV], on 24th November, 1505, a ratification, for good services, of all charters formerly made in his favour of whatsoever lands in the islands of Yle and Jura, and the low land (bassa terra) of Ardnamurchan and Suynart, with the Castle of Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, and Donavagan, in Yle, etc. The King, at Edinburgh, 19th November, 1506, confirmed to John MacIain, as heir of his grandfather, John vic Allister vic Iain, inter alia, two merks, and 6s. 8d. worth of lands in Jura, viz., a large eighth part of Aridscarnula, an eighth part of Knock-na-seolomon, which held of the late Donald de Insulis, Lord of Dunyvaig and Glens, but now in the hands of the Crown through the forfeiture of the late John de Insulis of Dunyvaig, knight, heir of the said Donald de Insulis on account of Sir John's treason . . . MacIain was also sent to Ireland to capture or slay Alexander [Macdonnell of Dunyvaig], but failed, after long search, as he reported to the King. In reality, MacIain seems to have relented, became reconciled to Alexander, and gave him his daughter Catherine in marriage, all unknown to the King . . . " (The Last Macdonalds of Isla, also Clan Donald I., 291, etc.).

This ending is so different a version from the one already quoted that it almost seems like a different incident.

We read many sneers and some harsh adjectives against Baillie MacIain, but the facts are that he was an official of the Scottish Government, and received his emoluments from that Government, that his acts were against men in rebellion, and that he was the most honest among the Macdonalds of his day, and did not change sides with the same facility as the rest, and this the attacks upon him show.

In Royal Letters, Richard III. and Henry VII., is one from O'Donnel to James IV. of Scotland, in which the former asks

on Mar. 13, 1507, for the assistance of the Scots against his Irish enemies, and mentions "dominum Johanem filium Alexandri McHean [indexed 'or McKeane'] suæ nationis principalem," [chief of his people], coupling him with the "Clanndonayll and Clandompnayll," signing himself Odompnayll, and alluding to Æneas McDonayll: he wants the help by the next feast of Saints Philip and James. The King answers, April 22, that 4,000 armed men will be sent with John, son of Alexander McKeane, but there is not time by the day named.

The fatal battle of Flodden in Northumberland was fought September 9, 1513, between the English and the Scots; King James of Scotland was killed with most of his army, while some of the Macdonald clans were nearly annihilated, apparently owing to breaking ranks and charging the English pikemen in detail. John MacIan of Ardnamurchan was in the battle, and was reported by mistake in the English Gazette among the killed.

In Taylor's Pictorial History of Scotland, I., 406-411, is a map of the battle-field, and an illustration with a description, from which last we copy a few paragraphs, as well as a few couplets from Scott's Marmion, Canto VI., Stanza XXXIV. "While the English were crossing the stream [called the Till] with their vanguard separated from their rear, the Scottish nobles in vain begged the king to attack. Borthwick, master of his artillery on his knees asked permission to bring his guns to bear on the English columns as they defiled over the narrow bridge. the king,' savs Pittscottie, I., 277, 'answered this gunner, Robert Borthwick, like to ane man bereft of all wit and judgment,' saying, 'I will cause hang thee and quarter thee if thou shoot a shot this day, for I will have the enemy all in a plain field before me, and assay them what they can do '" Whether this infatuation was owing to the king's ignorance of tactics, or to a romantic wish to give the enemy every chance, is a question. "On the extreme right of the Scottish army the clans suffered so from the volleys of the Cheshire and Lancashire archers:

> The English shafts in volleys hailed, In headlong charge their horse assailed:

that they broke their array to close with the enemy. The English pikemen reeled from the attack, but recovered and attacked the disorganized Highlanders in front and flank, routing them with great slaughter. In the centre the struggle was severe, and

for a time the Scots had the better of it. No quarter was given on either side, the ground became so slippery from blood that the combatants pulled off their boots and shoes and fought in their hose. The loss of the Scots in this disastrous field amounted to from 8,000 to 10,000 men, but these included the flower of their nobility, gentry and even clergy:

Their king, their lords, their mightiest low, They melted from the field as snow.

Scarce a Scottish family of eminence, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, but has had an ancestor killed at Flodden,

Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear, And broken was her shield!"

An old version of "Flowers of the Forest" was composed in commemoration of the battle, and the air is still played as a regimental dirge in Scotland. But passing from grave to gay,—it is related that a Scotch physician, many years after, went to England to practice his profession. Sir Walter Scott, knowing that he was unlearned, protested that he would kill a lot of Englishmen; "Aye," said Sawney, "but not eneugh to mak' up for Flodden."

The surviving Highlanders, including Alexander MacIan of Glengarry, again "raised the standard of rebellion, and Sir Donald of Lochalsh was proclaimed Lord of the Isles," but MacIan of Ardnamurchan exerted his influence with some success, to keep certain of the Islesmen from breaking the peace, and in 1515 (August 23rd) there was "Ane Respit maid be avise of the Governour [Regent Albany] to Donald of the Ilis of Lochalsh" and others, "for the space of IX dayis next to come after the date hereof," and the rebellion was extinguished. (Clan Donald I., 321; II., 160; and Lang, I., 361).

In 1516, as *MacLean* states, Donald of the Isles made redress to John MacIan of Adnamurchan for injuries done by Lachlan McClane of Doward.

And in 1517 Lachlan obtained from the Lords of Council, pardon for recent rebellion, and in return was obliged to promise restitution to the Earl of Argyle and Macdonald of Ardnamurchan for injuries done to their vassals. (Abridged from Account of Clan Maclean by a Seneachie, 25–27). In seven lines one authority calls him MacIan, another writes Macdonald, both of Ardnamurchan, and the next says MacIain.

On the death of King James IV. [1513], MacIain found himself surrounded by many enemies, including nearly all of the Western Clans, but none so determined as the Clan Iain Mhoir to which Sir John of Dunnyveg had belonged, and whom MacIain was instrumental in having executed in 1494. So powerful were his enemies that the Duke of Albany, Regent during the minority of James V., and the Council could not protect him. In 1515 raids were made on his lands in Isla, and when summoned to an account the raiders failed to appear, and his own tenants in Isla seem to have been disloval to him, and MacIain had to rely upon his immediate followers on the main land; but the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg, Sir Donald of Lochalsh, the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay formed a combination too powerful for him. They invaded Ardnamurchan, wasted it with fire and sword and sacked MacIain's Castle of Mingarry; MacIain and his men retreated before this formidable host, but were pursued to a place called Creag-an-Airgid [the Silver Crag]in Morven, where a sanguinary engagement took place. Here MacIain, his two sons John Sunartach [of Sunart] and Angus, and many of his followers were slain, apparently in 1518. "With John MacIain departed the glory of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan. He was buried with befitting pomp and ceremony in [Iona] the sacred Isle of the West." (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 161-164)

The accounts in Lang's *History of Scotland*, I., 363, and in *The Last Macdonalds of Isla* are somewhat similar, and the latter adds that Mariot, daughter of John MacIain, was served heir to him in 1538, and two years after, Ardnamurchan fell into the hands of the Earl of Argyle, who in 1550 alienated it . . . to James Macdonal, and the grant was confirmed the same year by Queen Mary."

The MacIain tombstone in Iona is evidently that of John who was head of that branch of the family at least between 1494 and 1518: it must have been a very fine stone before it was broken and weather-beaten. In the upper half the effigies of John MacIain and his sister Mariota are distinguishable; in the centre is the galley which was their armorial bearing; below that is a beautiful and intricate figure compounded of crosses, sprigs, etc., while the inscriptional border is subdivided by rosettes. The text of *Fraser-Mackintosh* (from whose book the plate is



copied) implies that Malcolm Macduphie of Colonsay erected the tomb to his brother-in-law John MacIain, Lord of Ardnamurchan and Mariota MacIain, sister of John and wife of Malcolm; but the inscription is very indistinct except at the right hand lower half and bottom, where we may distinguish: "Ardnamurchan * et Mariota . . . eain soror ejus [foror eius] *

53



THE MACIAIN TOMBSTONE IN IONA.

spousa * " The authors of Clan Donald apparently make Mariota the daughter of Alexander the uncle of John MacIain, (III., 210).

VII. ALEXANDER was the son and heir of John MacIain, and was a minor at his father's death. Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyle was appointed guardian. The policy of the latter being to extend the influence of his house, and the MacIains with their

vast estates being entirely in his power, Argyle was not slow to use his opportunity. His brother, Sir John of Calder became his agent, and between them they set about dividing the possessions of the House of Ardnamurchan, but were not altogether successful. MacIain, though not of age, led his men fighting against the Campbells in a quarrel provoked by the murder of Lachlan Catanach Maclean of Dowart. (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 164–166).

The Macleans and Macdonalds though later at feud with each other, were united during the minority of James V. Some of the lands forfeited by the Lord of the Isles being granted to them, Argyle persuaded the Council to declare the grants null and void. The two neighbors made a descent upon the lands of Argyle, and the Government sent a herald to the Isles to command the latter wrong-doers to peaceable behaviour and to give an explanation. The herald returned unsuccessful. Argyle offered to repress the two chiefs, but the Government doubted his disinterestedness and patriotism, and gave the Macleans and Macdonalds a chance to present their wrongs, and Ardnamurchan is mentioned among those who sent in their submission, and Argyle gave two Campbells as hostages to be confined in Edinburgh Castle in fulfilment of these terms. (Abridged from Clan Maclean, 31–33).

A more important saving interference is thus described: Colin Campbell, third Earl of Argyle, had been granted a Commission of "lieutenandry" over the men of the Isles about 1517, but in 1529 it dawned upon the King and council that the Earl had secretly fomented disturbances there in hopes of benefiting by forfeitures, and he represented any attacks upon himself as a rebellion against the sovereign. About this time Alexander MacDonald of Islay, with the contemporary MacLean made a descent upon certain lands belonging to the Campbells, and the latter being worsted, appealed to the council, who summoned Alexander of Islay and his followers to lay down their arms, offering them royal protection. Nine of the principal Islanders, including Alexander MacIan of Ardnamurchan, sent offers of submission to the King, who deprived Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle, of the chief command of the Isles, conferring it on Alexander of Islay, which caused Argyle to join the English forces. (Adapted from the History of the Clan MacLean).

In the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. II., James V., A. D. 1531, several persons, among whom were "alexander makeane, alister de glengarry, Johanes mckane" and others, were called upon to testify "sup. certis præditorijs accoibus in dea. sumoicoe. contente;" [upon certain predatory gatherings affirmed in the said summons]; the case was postponed at least three times, and there is no record of it at the last date set.

"We hear no more of the young Chieftain of Ardnamurchan, and he must have been dead before the year 1538; for in that year Mariot MacIain, his sister, and wife of Robert Robertson of Struan, was served heiress to her father in the lands possessed by him at his death. Two years later, Mariot, with consent of her husband, resigned these lands in favour of the Earl of Argyle, but the King [James V.] the following year paid the sum of £5,000 to the Earl for resigning ad perpetuam remanentiam the same lands. In 1543 Queen Mary granted to Argyle the lands of Ardnamurchan and others for the space of twelve years. This last transaction seems afterwards to have been thought irregular, and in the year 1550 Argyle, in virtue of the old resignation in his favour by Mariot MacIain, the heiress, received a crown charter of the 80 merk lands of Ardnamurchan, which he immediately bestowed on his brother-in-law, James Macdonald of Dunnyveg and the Glens to be held under the Earls of Argyle" (Clan Donald, II, 166, 167).

It may be interesting to quote the royal document above mentioned; it is in the Register of the Great Seal of the Kings of Scotland, is in Latin, and may be rendered as follows:

"527 At. Edinburgh, 20 September (1550).

The Queen [Mary] &c., has granted and quitclaimed to Archibald Earl of Argyle [Ergadie Comiti], Lord Campbell and Lorne &c., his heirs and assigns,—the lands of Ardnamurchan, with the castle and fortress of Castell-Mayerie, near Inverness;—which Mariota McAne, daughter and heiress of the late John M. of Ardnamurchan transferred into the hands of King James V. at Holyrood* [apud monasterium S. Crucis]:—Attested, 27. 4. 26. 31. 30. 32. XXX. 496."

^{*}This palace derived its name from a valued relic. The Holy Rood of Scotland was a cross-shaped casket of wrought gold, containing a fragment of the True Cross, "carried off later by that royal thief, Edward I." Still later it was returned by treaty, afterwards captured by the English, and lastly disappeared from the Cathedral of Durham at the time of the Reformation. (Lansdale's Scotland, Historic and Romantic, I., 6, note).

It is curious to see that in the copious Index of the work last mentioned, Makeane is noted: "vide Makane," and at that place we find: "Makane (McAne, Makaane, McEane, Makeane, McCane, McCaine, McKane, McKayne, McKeane, McKaane; of Makkany) de Ardnamurchan, Joh., 527." The locality has been spelled Ardenmuirich, Ardnamurquhane, Ardnamurquhan, Ardnamurquhan, Ardnamurchane, Ardnamurquhan, Armourche and otherwise.

In a document dated 12th day of October, 1550, is mentioned the 80 merks land of the old extent of Ardnamurchan, with the castle and fortalice of Mingarry, tenants, tenantries, and service of free tenants, etc., etc., lying within the Sheriffdom of Inverness. . . and "James Macdonald took sasine at the Castle of Mingarry of the lands of Ardnamurchan on 7th January 1550–51." (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

"Henceforth the superiority of Ardnamurchan remained nominally with the Argyle family, although it was many years before their title was completed by possession, the MacIains continuing to hold the estate as if it had been a male fief of the crown. The fact that they continued to possess the lands of Ardnamurchan, nothwithstanding the charters to Argyle and James Macdonald, is proved by several references to them in the public records as 'of Ardnamurchan.' The only feasible explanation of this state of matters is that considerable indulgence must have been extended to the MacIains by all parties, for otherwise it is difficult to see how they could have kept their hold against so strong a combination as the Campbells and the Macdonalds of Dunnvveg. The conduct of the Government in depriving the MacIains of their just and lawful rights at this time is somewhat difficult to explain. The loyalty of the family during the troublous times that followed the fall of the Lordship of the Isles seems to have been entirely forgotten, when it should have stood them in good stead. As no reason is given for so harsh a treatment we can only venture the surmise that the family of the MacIain who succeeded to the chieftainship in 1538 must have made themselves obnoxious by their opposition to the Government." (Clan Donald, II., 167, 168).

Alexander MacIain is said (*Ibid.*, III., 211), to have had three sons—1. John, who succeeded. 2. Donald. 3. Alexander. This Alexander had two sons—1. John. 2. Donald.

Alexander was succeeded as head of the family by his cousin

"Alexander MacDonald VcIain of Ardnamurchan," who seems to have held the leadership about forty-seven years, but who does not appear in the Genealogy given by the Reverends A. Macdonalds, in III., 211.

In 1544 he supported John Moydertach of Clanranald and the Frasers of Lovat, and fought at Blar Leine or Kinloch Lochy in 1545. A respite was granted him in 1548 by the Government for his doings in this battle and for being absent from the royal army summoned in 1547 (Abridged from *Clan Donald*, II., 168).

Some of the contemporary correspondence on public affairs alludes to familiar clan names; e. q., under the date 1545, the State Papers contain a very curious "Commission to make compact with Henry VIII. and Lennox:—The Earl of Rosse, etc., to McAlister and McLean." The document itself is in part as follows: "Be it kend till all men be vis present wryt, We, Donald Lord of ve Ilis and Erll of Rose, wicht awise and consent of our Barronis and Counsall of ye Ilis, yet is to say, ... Ihone Macallister Capitane of Clanrannald... Anguse Maconill brudir germane to James Maconill... Alexander Mackeyn of Ardnamurchane . . . Alexander Rannaldsoun of Glengerre . . . to have maid, constitude and ordanit, and be vir our presentis makis constitutis and ordainis, giffand our full powar exprese bidding and command to honorable personis and our Kvnnismen, vat is to say, Rore Macallister Elect to ye Bishopre of ve Ilis in Scotland, and Devn of Morwarne, and Mr Patrik Maclane...brudir germane to ye said Lord Maclane, Bailze of Ycomkill and Justice Clerk of ye South Ilis, conjunctie and severalie our afald and indowtit Commissioners...and in speciall twetching our bandis instantlie to be maid to ane most anobill and potent Prince Harve ye Acht, be ye Grace of God King of Ingland, France and Ireland ... and for securite of vir present, we ye said Donald has affiixit our propir seill wicht our hand at ye pen because we can nocht wryte, and has causit ye Baronis aboun writtin, becaus thai can nocht write, to cause ane Notar to subscribe for yame wicht vair hand at ye pen, with vair bodely aythis never to cum in ye contrar of ye sammyn. (Signed): Donald of ye Ilis and Erll of Ros, wt my hand at ve pen... Alex Ranaldson of Glegare, wt had at pen...Angus McConill Brudr Jarme to Jamis Mcconill, wt my hand at ye pene... Allexad. McCane off Armourche, wt my hand at ye pene..."

But this is not enough: the State Paper DXLVIII., in the same year, is the Oath of Rosse and the Lairds of the Isles; it begins: "In Dei nomine. Amen," and proceeds to state that there "comperit ane honorable Lord, Donald Lord of ye Ilis and Erll of Rose, into ye Cheptour of ye Gray Freris of Knokfarguse" and with several others including "Macallister capitane of Clanrannald... Anguse Macconill... Alexander Mackeyn of Ardnamurchan... Alexander Rannoldson of Glengarre... wncoakit or imcompulsit, bot of yair awin free motive will"... [have given their oaths to] "Patrik Colquhoun, as Commissionar to my Lord of Lennox and servand to ye Kingis Majeste"... that they had become the King's true subjects touching the marriage of the Princess of Scotland, and in all other affairs, etc.

In 1545 also appears a very long communication on behalf of Ross and the others, protesting loyalty to their new friends the English, and, we regret to write, hatred to their own countrymen; asserting that it is not a question of money, while they seem to be driving a pretty close bargain. It is from "McAlister, &c. to The Privy Council.—To our werray good Lordis of ye Counsall, these be giffen. Item first that ... our lord and maister thErlle (sic) of Rose and Lord of the llis, promittis that his Lordship schall destroye the tayne half of Scotland, or ... mak theyme to cum to the Kingis Majesties obedience...the Lord Maclane, and the rest of the Barronis of the Ilis...the Lord Maclane, Captane of Clanrannald...be includit therein ... The fourt artikill, quhen it specifyeth...to gif the said Erll of Rose one zeirlie pensioun of two thousand crownis for service doyne, and to be downe ... the said Erll of Rose desyris to have wachis to thre thousand of the said eyeht thousand (men), the wther fyve thousand to serve the Kingis Majeste in favour of my Lord thErll of Lennox, not takand wagis...we schall mak the number of 6 thousand men with their galays and wischell to serve the Kingis Hienes...Item secundlie, my Lordis, we exhort zour Lordschepes to ramember and considder quhat honorable and faythfull service we promit to do the Kingis Majeste on our liffis and honour...Item thridlie...zour good Lordschepes... [should] be the more ware with all the natioun of Scottis, this for their fraud, and in speciale wyth ws that is callit the wyld Ilis of Scotland; ... we beseik zour Lordschepis to have no sich consait in ws, ... zour Lordschepes sall considder we have beyne auld enemys to the realm of Scotland, and guhen they had

peasche wyth the Kingis Hienes, they hanged hedit presoned and destroed many of our kyn freindis and forbears, as testifyis... thElle of Rose...the quhilk hath lyin in presoun afoir he was borne of his modir...And many wther crewell slachter burnyng and herschep that hath beyn betuix ws and the sadis Scottis, the quhilk war lang to wrytte...the hatrand wilbe the grittar betuix ws and them van it was afore, and is able more to encrese... Item fourtlie and last of all"...[it is most important to act immediately]..."that the precius and convenient tyme be not lost, ye quhilk onis lost is wnrecoverable; and, on our lyffis, zour Lordschepps had never so good tyme as now. Finale, my Lordis, to concluid, we pray zour Lordschepps to have ws excusit of our lang rusticall and barbarose ditment to consider our mynd and nocht the wrytte, and that our mynd is not to perswaid zour Lordschepps wyth wordis, or to be desyrars of the Kingis Graceis mony, bot ... quhar we desyre one crown of His Hienes, we shall spend thre in His Graceis service, with t'ie grace of God; prayand Christ Jesu to have ye Kingis Majeste in keiping an Zour good Lordschipps, with ansour as zour Lordschipps thinkis expedient." It may be mentioned that Ross gets his "pension," the Earl of the Isles gets his, and of the 8,000 men, "6000 ... shall be employed ... to annoye thenemyes, thother 2000 remayning in their cowntrees for defence." And soon there are such stirring items in the Contents as "Dryburgh taken," Tiviotdale forrayed," "Jedburgh burnt," "Merse forrayed," "Dunse rased," etc., etc.

Perhaps the canny Scots were not the only people who may be accused of double-dealing at this period. The State Papers make mention, September 4, 1545, of two letters, both from Henry VIII.; one to Donald McOnell, Earl of Ross, "Lord of the Isles," and the other to Hector McLean, "Lord of the Isles;" the letters are "to the same effect, and in the same words,"—encouraging them to proceed in the invasion of Scotland. It should be stated, however, that there may have been some doubt at this time as to the rightful owner of the above title.*

*The title "of the Isles" was written in various ways: "Isla has continued from the earliest times to the present; "Ilacht" and "Ilycht" meant the Isla men; among Gaelic forms were "de Ile" or "Yle." Younger sons were styled "de Insulis" and "Illis" (The Last Macdonalds of Isla). Besides the above, there are found Ylis and Yllis, des Isles in 1292, de Hyle in 1295 and d'Eyl in 1297, de Ysle in 1336, Ilys in 1346, the Iyles in 1626, the Eylis in 1630, etc.

It is apparent that McConel and McOnell are forms of MacDonald; the reason for that form of the name is given in the Appendix, in the Table of some spellings of the name (Mac) Donald.

Donald Dubh, claimant to the forfeited lordship of the Isles and earldom of Ross, having escaped from imprisonment in which he had been detained from infancy by the King, was received with open arms by the island chiefs; they instantly took the field in support of his claims, and Alexander Macian (Macdonald) of Ardnamurchan is mentioned among his supporters (Gregory's History of the Western Highlands, 70, note).

In 1545 Donald Dubh escaped for the second time (first from Inchconnell, now from Edinburgh Castle), and "again summoned the men of the Isles to his standard, . . . Alexander MacIain was among the first to join him, and his importance may be measured by his elevation to the position of one of the Council of the Island Claimant. He also was one of the eighteen Commissioners appointed by Donald Dubh to treat with Henry VIII. of England. We thus see that Alexander MacIain played an important part during that stirring time." (Clan Donald, II., 169).

"The death of Donald Dubh in 1545, left no claimant to the Lordship of the Isles. The Islanders, after a while, chose James MacDonald of Isla, [and of Dunneveg and the Glinns], as their leader—a chieftain whose pretensions to the Lordship of the Isles were much inferior to those of Donald Gorm of Sleat." ... "The repeated failures of the western clans to re-establish, in any shape, the old lordship of the Isles, proved to them the futility of making another attempt. Having no longer a common object, the clans, by degrees, became estranged from each other, and the less powerful ones were forced to contend against the aggressions of their stronger neighbors." (History of the Clan MacLean). James MacDonald here mentioned, "took no overt action, but subsided once more into the attitude of a loyal subject, and was restored to favor with the Scottish Regent." With this act passed away the hope that the ancient title ['of the Isles'] might yet be restored. (Adapted from Clan Donald).

Referring to the above James, a few quotations follow,—of portions of a document accompanying another in 1546, and among the *State Papers*,—from "The Lord Deputy and Council

of Ireland to the Privy Council in England." The principal one mentions "letters from one Jamez McConel, whiche nowe declareth hymself Lorde of the Isles, by the consent of the nobilitie of the Insulans." The accompanying declaration says: "At Ardnamurchan, the 24 day of Januar the zeir of God ane thowsand fyef hundyr 46 zeir. We, James McConaill of Dunnewaik and ye Glinnis, and aperand aeyr of ye Yllis," [pray the Lord Deputy of Ireland and Council of Dublin to express to the King] "that we ar raddy, efter owr extrem power, our kynisman and alya, naymly owr cusyng, Alan McKlayn of Gyga, Clanronald, Clanchanrown [Cameron] Clancavn [MacIan] and owr awyn sowrnaym, bayth north and sowth, to tak ane part with the said Erl of Lenox, or ony oder quhat sumever, ve Kyngis Majeste plaissis to haif autyrise or constitut be His Grace, in Scotland". . . [and he mentions a bond] "maid to our sevf, and Maister Donald Lord Yllis, ghowm God asolyeit ve ghilk deid in His said Graceis serwice . . . we requyer thwa or thre schyppis to be send to ws to (ye yll of Sanday besyid Kintyr, at Sanct Patrikis day next to cowm, or yair by) and . . . we haif afixit our propir seill to the samvng, with our subscription manuall, the day zeir and place abowven expremit.

(Signed) James McConel of L. S. Dunnewaik & Gli'nis.''

"In a rental of the Bishopric of the Isles and Abbacy of Iona of the year 1561, we find that MacIain held the lands of Gargadeill, in Ardnamurchan, as tenant of the Abbot of Iona, while he possessed the Isle of Muck, as tenant of the Bishop of the Isles. (Clan Donald, II., 169). Furthermore there is the following curious document:

"Act of the Lords of Council and Session, in causa Bishop of the Isles against the Islesmen,*1580.

Tertio Decembris, anno 1580.

Anent the sumondis raisit at the instance of ane reuerend father in God, Jhonne Bischop of the Iles aganes Gilemane M'Neill of Baray, . . . Johne M'Ane of Arinamurchan . . . To heir it be fundin, be decreit of the counsale, that the saidis persones, and ilk ane of thame, hes intromettit with the maillis, fermes, teyndis and deuties pertenying and belanging to the landis and kirks pertenying to the said reuerend father within the bischop-

^{*}Register of Decreet of Council and Session, LXXXII., 169

rik of Ilis and abbay of Ycolmkill, ilk ane of them for thair awin pairtis of the cropis and yeiris of God I^mv^c lxxij, lxxiij, and diuerss vtheris yeiris . . . The said reuerend father compeirand be Mr. Alexander Mauchane, his procuratour '' . . . etc. (Historical Account of Iona, 91, L. Maclean).

VIII. JOHN succeeded Alexander. "He had by his first wife his heir and successor John Og; also a daughter Una, who married Allan Maclean of Ardthornish, of whom the Macleans of Kinlochaline, Drimnin, Pennycross and others. He married (secondly) Janet Campbell, Dowager Lady of Duart." (Clan Donald, III., 211, 212).

John appears to have become chief in 1585, in which year began a serious feud between the MacDonalds of Sleat and MacLeans of Dowart, developing later into a war which involved all the MacDonalds and MacLeans, and MacIain of Ardnamurchan took sides naturally with the MacDonalds. According to a MacLean tradition, one incident in the feud was that John MacIain falsely represented that Lachlan MacLean had executed two MacDonald hostages: thereupon Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg executed two notable MacLean prisoners, following which the MacLeans invaded Ardnamurchan, and according to the MacLean Seanachies, "peace was purchased by the marriage of MacIains' daughter Una, and Allan Maclean, to whom certain lands were given in name of dowry." (Clan Donald, II., 169, 170).

The Maclean account is of course somewhat different, and in brief relates that the Bishop of the Isles granted Lachlan, 6th Maclean of Coll, certain land in the Island of Muke [Muck?] "formerly the property of the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, who, keeping violent possession of the island, Coll had fourteen of their number" put to death, for which the MacIans took their revenge afterwards (p. 308) . . . Hector, son of Lachlan, had the island of Muke given him by his father. "The MacIans of Ardnamurchan from a feeling of revenge for some supposed injury done them by Hector's father, [possibly explained by the preceding paragraph], and being privately instigated by their cunning and artful enemy Sir Donald Campbell, now the possessor of the property of the MacIan Chief," landed on Muck, seized some cattle, and were fired upon by Hector, who was shot dead. The murderers were afterwards apprehended and hanged (p. 322).

And as to hanging, Dixon in the *Border Clans*, 47, intimates that retainers took it almost as a matter of course, and as better than dying in their beds: when led out to execution they listened calmly to the priest as he recited the Fifty-first Psal in Latin, the Neck-verse, so called because said when the halter was on their necks.

The troubles proceeded with other branches; in 1586 there was an invasion of Mull and Tiree by the MacDonalds of Islay and Skye under Angus MacDonald [of Dunnyveg], supported amongst others, by Clanian of Ardnamurchan, in revenge for the devastation of Islay by the MacLeans. (Lang's History of Scotland. I., 417).

In 1587 "certain charges are made against MacIain and others, the Council meantime prohibiting him from gathering his men in arms. In the same year his name is found in the Roll of Chiefs, and the Clan Iain are found in the Roll of Clans sent down in the Act of Parliament commonly called the General Bond. These indicate the position of MacIain and his Clan in the history of the Highlands at this time, and it seems to have been one of considerable importance, despite the absence of crown charters." (Clan Donald, II., 170).

The first of the rolls mentioned in the previous paragraph is evidently the one in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, (James VI., A. D. 1587), and which reads in part: "The Roll of ye names of ye landislordis and baillies of landis duelland in the bordouris and in the hielandis quhair brokin men hes duelt and pntlie duellis." In this long roll of names and titles is included mekane of ardnamechin.

According to the *Reg. Privy Council Scot.*, letters are directed in 1587, to officers and sheriffs, to command and charge several persons, including John Mckane of Ardnamurchan, to deliver up eight hostages for MacLean,—to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorne.

A painful piece of treachery is related by several authorities as having occurred about this time:

MacLean of Dowart, in 1588, "having failed openly to kill John Mckane of Ardnamurchin" treacherously invited him and his friends to the marriage of Janet Campbell, the mother of MacLean; and after the banquet and after McKane and his friends had "fallen on sleep," the MacLeans killed about eighteen

"gentlemen, besides others," and but for his own defense and the earnest suit of MacLean's mother, would havekilled McKane; however, he was detained in captivity, with Allaster McKane, and Angus McKane, his page,—for all of which MacLean was denounced rebel.

The foregoing is evidently the circumstance alluded to in Browne's History of the Highlanders and Clans, as follows,—but as having occurred in 1591: "In order to strengthen his own power and to weaken that of his antagonist, (Angus Macdonald of Kintvre), Sir Lauchlan Maclean attempted to detach John MacIain of Ardnamurchan, from Angus Macdonald and his party. MacIain had formerly been an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Macleans' mother, and Sir Hector now gave him an invitation to visit him in Mull, promising, at the same time, to give him his mother in marriage. MacIain accepted the invitation, and on his arrival in Mull, Maclean prevailed on his mother to marry MacIain, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated at Torloisk in Mull. Maclean thought that by gratifying Mac-Iain in his long-wished for object, he would easily succeed in obtaining his assistance against Macdonald, but he was disappointed in his expectations, for no persuasion could induce Mac-Iain to join against his own tribe, towards which, notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance, he entertained the strongest affection. Chagrined at the unexpected refusal of MacIain, Sir Lauchlan resolved to punish his refractory guest by one of those gross infringements of the laws of hospitality which so often marked the hostility of rival clans. During the dead hour of the night he caused the door of MacIains' bed-chamber to be forced open, dragged him from his bed, and from the rms of his wife, and put him in close confinement after killing eighteen of his followers. After suffering a year's captivity, he was released and exchanged for Maclean's son and the other hostages in Macdonald's possession." Fraser-Mackintosh adds in Last Macdonalds of Isla: "The evil doers were committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, were afterwards reconciled and a severe penalty imposed upon the first that would break the peace."

Lachlan Maclean was summoned to appear before the Privy Council and to produce the persons of his prisoners: he failed to do so and was pronounced rebel, but appears to have given MacIain his liberty; the treatment the latter had received, however, aroused the indignation of the Macdonalds of Clan Ranald; and MacLean of Dowart, "not waiting to be attacked, invaded the Islands of Rum, Cana, Eigg and Muck, which belonged to the Clan Iain and Clan Ranald," after which he "made a descent on the district of Ardnamurchan, and laid siege to the Castle of Mingarry. Here he was met by the Macdonald chieftains, who defeated him with great slaughter. (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 173).

Disputes about the Rhinns, (certain lands in Islay), caused depredations and trouble between the Clans of MacDonald and MacLean, leading to the narrow escape of John MacIan of Ardnamurch (otherwise Johnne McKane of Ardmurchin), and which feud was sought to be allayed by the marriage between Allan MacLean and Una MacIan.

It may be a relief to quote a few archaic fragments about the foregoing MacLean raid as quaintly set forth in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, which relates in fulness of detail and indignation in 1588, that Lachlan MacLean, "accompayed with a grite nowmer of thevis, broken men, and sornaies of Clannis, besydis the nowmer of ane hundreth Spanyeartis,* come, . . . byrnt the same Illis, with the haill men, wemen and childrene being thoir intill, not spairing the pupillis and infantis, and at that same tyme past to the Castell of Ardnamurchin, (Mingarry), assegeit the same, and lay abowte the said Castell three dayis using in the meantyme all kind of hostilitie and force, baith be fyre and swerd . . . the like barbarous and shamefull crueltie has sendle bene hard of amangis Christeanis in any kingdome or age." They were only forced from their warm attentions by "gude subjectis." The MacDonalds on their part, employed

*These notable allies consisted of a hundred marines borrowed from the Florida (Florencia, the Florentine galleon), one of the scattered remnants of the Spanish Armada, and which ship had put into a bay in Mull for provisions. She never left the bay, for a Scotch prisoner on board blew her up "by sulphurous powder of her magazine," with the loss of himself and the crew of some three hundred men.

It should be noted that in June, 1905, attempts were made after several failures to bring up from the sunken hull bronze cannon, gold doubloons and other expected treasure trove, under the action of the present Duke of Argyle. The newspaper accounts differ slightly from ours, in stating that the ship was the Admiral of Florence, that she put into Tobermory Bay for food and water, and being claimed for the king of Scotland, the commander blew her up.

English mercenaries, and James VI., being in want of money, and having induced the chiefs of both clans to come to Edinburgh on the pretence of consulting with the king and council for the good of the country, seized and imprisoned them and fined them £20,000 each, taking hostages in the meantime, and they only returned to their estates in 1591, after being commanded to live in quietness. (Adapted from the *History of the Clan MacLean*).

John the elder died apparently about 1591. The Account of Clan Maclean by a Seneachie, p. 330, intimates that he was instrumental in the death of Allan Maclean's father, Ian Dubh of Morvern, who was beheaded by Angus Macdonald of Isla. John was succeeded by his son

IX. JOHN OG or OIG (the Younger).

In 1592 King James [VI.], being as usual, in sore need of money, issued a decree commanding the Chiefs to find surety for the payment of the rents of their lands; those who failed to obey were put to the horn:* John Og MacIain must have found the security, for the King, with advice of his Council, ordered him to be released from the horn. (Clan Donald, II., 174). The full clause is found in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, under date 1593: "the King... ordains letters to issue to relax the following persons from the horn for any cause bygone, receive them to the King's peace 'and gif to thame the wandt thairof:" among them are Johnne McAne of Ardnamurchane.

Also in 1593 (25th October), James VI. held his Court at Mingary, and he was again there on the 18th May, 1595. (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

In 1594-95, Queen Elizabeth was hard put to it to retain Ireland, assisted as that "distressful country" was by the galleys of the MacDonalds; for the Isles could, on an emergency, raise a force of six thousand hardy troops, accustomed to danger both by land and sea, and equipped for war on either element. To keep this force away from Ireland, MacLean stood ready to

^{*}Horning, or being put to the horn, was a process requiring a debt [or fine?] to be paid within a limited time; probably so called from the proclamation being made with sound of horn.

[†]If this be not a contraction of "warrand" (or warrant), it must allude to the baton of office borne by the messenger of a court of justice; when hindered from enforcing the law, he broke his wand or staff.

attack the possessions of any chief who left his home unprotected, and with the aid of Argyle and the English ships, dispersed the fleet of the Islesmen. He also surprised and took prisoner the captain of Clan Ranald, MacIan of Ardnamurchan and others, thereby gaining for himself the titles of "ane vailyeant man of weir, and ane man of honour," and strangest of all, a thousand crowns from the parsimonious queen, but the last with such difficulty and delay that his own force was nearly disbanded, and many MacDonalds crossed over to Ireland to assist Tyrone. (Adapted from the *History of the Clan MacLean*).

The capture of the chiefs of Clanranald and of Ardnamurchan is also mentioned in *Clan Donald*, II., 175, where they are called, in a quotation "the maist doubtlit and able men in the Isles," and are said to have been thrown into a dungeon, but released when Lachlan Mor MacLean was called upon by the King to answer for his conduct. In Tytler's *History of Scotland*, IX., 202, it is stated that MacIain and his men constituted part of a force of 900 under the Captain of Clanranald, and which was on the way to join Tyrone in Ireland.

Soon after these doings, John Og MacIain was witness to a tack or lease by Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg, of lands in Sunart. "The lands of Sunart had been, as we have seen, for a long time a bone of contention between the families of Dunnyveg and Ardnamurchan, and from the fact that neither had a legal title, it is somewhat singular to find the chieftains parties to a transaction which in law could not be binding. By his signing as a witness, MacIain would seem to acquiesce in the disposition of lands by another which he formerly claimed as his own. (Clan Donald, II., 175).

"In 1595, John Og MacIain is offered as a surety for Alexander Macranald of Keppoch in a contract between the latter and the Earl of Argyle. And as still further evidence of his importance in the sphere of Highland politics, we find about the same time in a bond of caution by Lachlan Maclean of Dowart reference made to MacIain as one of the principal men of the Isles." (*Ibid.*, II., 176.)

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland states that in 1596 "Lauchlane Macklane of Dowart gives bonds in 20,000 marks, but the bond is not to extend to any action or quarrell with the Clan Donald . . . Clan Fane, and their friends and partakers

till the principals and chiefs of the said Clans find caution on the like condition."

X. Donald Mac MhicEoin, uncle of John Og MacIain, murdered the latter about 1596, and has a position in this list, but for a very short time, as he was killed in his turn, by the MacIains and Camerons, about 1602.

It is stated in the *History of the Camerons*, page 70, that John Og-MacIan of Ardnamurchan, who had been betrothed to one of the daughters of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, was murdered about 1598 by his uncle MacMhic Eoin, with the view of succeeding him in his estate and command of the clan as the next heir. Lochiel having the highest esteem for MacIan on account of his many excellent qualities, determined to avenge his death, and pursued the murderer, who fled to Mull to the protection of MacIean of Duart, and was killed in the resulting skirmish at Morvern, where his tomb is still pointed out.

Among other details of the lamentable occurrence given in Clan Donald, II., 176, we read that his uncle Donald MacIain the murderer, had had differences with John Og, about the possession of Sunart, to which Donald laid claim, ''he was besides, presumptive heir to his nephew, and would, therefore, in the event of the latter dying without issue, succeed him as head of the family of Ardnamurchan. While preparations were being made for the celebration of the marriage of the young chieftain, and as he was returning from a visit to Lochiel, accompanied by a small retinue, he was attacked and slain by his uncle, who was lying in wait for him at a place in Sunart."

The tradition is that being warm under the weight of his armor, Donald in the fight following the pursuit which resulted in his death, was raising his helmet, and one of the Camerons remarking: "though mighty, this will do for him," sped an arrow which pinioned Donald's hand to his skull.

In 1601 the necessities of the avaricious James VI. made him again turn his eyes upon the highland chiefs and endeavor to get up some fresh charge against them whereby he might replenish his exhausted coffers . . . He tried process for non-payment of crown rents, but this was abandoned by the Council. He then gave commission of lieutenancy over the southern and northern isles to Argyle and Huntly, and put an armed force at their command, . . . finally "they were offered a royal grant

of all the lands they might conquer by the total extirpation of the existing proprietors within a given period, provided they agreed to pay rent for them. Huntly was called off by the nobles and ministers of the reformed faith, and the privy council with the king's sanction withdrew Huntly's commission. (Adapted from *Records of Privy Council*, 23rd June, 1607).

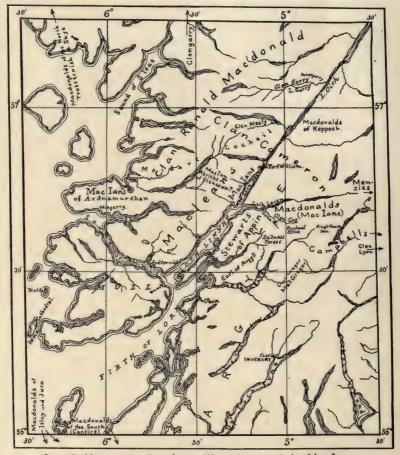
"On the death of Donald MacIain,

XI. JOHN MACALLISTER VC IAIN succeeded as head of the family, [about 1602], but his succession to the lands of Ardnamurchan was disputed by the Earl of Argyle. The Clan Iain being weakened by intestine broils, Argyle seized his opportunity to enforce the deed of conveyance granted in favour of the fourth Earl by the heiress, Mariot MacIain . . . The Earl further promised faithfully to protect MacIain in the possession of these lands . . . it would appear that MacIain delivered up his old title-deeds and did not receive the promised charter in return. There is also a tradition to the effect that the title-deeds came into the possession of Argyle by his having found them with a burgess of Edinburgh, with whom MacIain left them as a pledge for a debt incurred in educating his son. Be this as it may, the old charter of 1499 granted to John MacIain for apprehending the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg is now in the Argyle charter chest." (Clan Donald, II., 177, 178).

"The departure of King James from his native Scotland to take possession of the English crown, [in 1603], and the turmoil which followed and continued for some time, no doubt prevented Argyle, who was busy elsewhere, extending his influence and possessions in the name of law and order, from taking actual possession of Ardnamurchan. The history of the Ardnamurchan family from this juncture is one long and desperate struggle, in which they succeeded for a time in holding their own against several branches of the Clan Campbell. (*Ibid.*, II., 178).

We hope the accompanying map will prove acceptable. It shows that in the 16th century, the MacIans of Ardnamurchan and of Glencoe, with occupants in Glencoan and Loch Aber, were spread over a long stretch of territory about the latitude 56°: 45′. The map only partially indicates how widely distributed was the powerful parent Clan of MacDonald, extending far beyond the limits of the map; we have easily collected seventy-

eight families of the title, each specified by a local name, and they may be found tabulated in the Appendix. Indeed it was said that there were more rascally MacDonalds than there were honest men in all the rest of the clans, and as to their alleged acquisit-



Sketch-Map indicating the position of some of the MacIans, Macdonalds, etc., in the 16th Century and afterwards. Compiled from Johnston, Black, etc., by .F.C. McK.

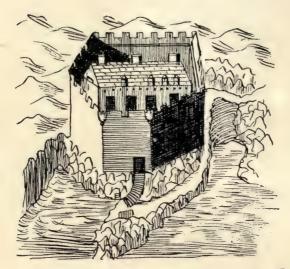
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iveness that they were more like MacTak's than MacGi'es, but we may accept this as the tribute of envy, because *Robertson* the historian says: "Of all the clans, that of the MacDonalds

is by every rule of antiquity, power and numbers fully entitled to be spoken of before any other." And in lists of Scottish families with descriptive adjectives prefixed, will be found "The brave MacDonalds;" but in reference to the numerous dependent septs, and for the sake of certain definitions, we will make further quotations in a footnote.* A few names, mostly of neighborclans or of noted places have been added in the map; but the large letters "Argyle" are an anachronism, as they represent the present shire of that name.

As to one place inserted, Hill's Macdonnels of Antrim has the following: "Mingarry Castle stands on a low, rocky promontory, south of Ardnamurchan Point. The Castle, fifty feet in length and three stories in height, is surrounded by an irregular hexagonal wall nearly as high as itself, and rising immediately from the edge of the rock to the angles of which those of the castle are adapted. Mingarrie was the ancient and celebrated residence of the MacIan Macdonnells of Ardnamurchan until their expulsion by the Campbells at the commencement of the 17th century." We may continue that according to Origines Parochiales Scotiae, in 1612 (?) a commission was granted by Archibald, seventhearl of Argyle, to Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochow, "to take and receive the castle of Mingaray, and to put keepers in it at the Earl's expense, with power to sum-

^{*}In an interesting little book published in 1896, and called What is my Tartan? Frank Adam states that Gregory divides the Clan Donald into nine main branches, including the Clans Ian of Ardnamurchan and Glencoe; and he himself enumerates no fewer than seventy-two clan-septs out of five hundred that he tabulates, which were septs and dependents of the various branches of the MacDonalds, including MacIan, MacKean and some other spellings to be found in a Table in the Appendix. His book quotes the definition of "Clan" as follows, though he also gives a much fuller description of the term. "A Highland Clan is a set of men, all bearing the same surname, and believing themselves to be related the one to the other, and to be descended from the same stock. In each Clan are several subaltern tribes, who own their dependence on their own immediate chief, but all agree in owing allegiance to the supreme chief of the Clan or kindred, and look upon it to be their duty to support him in all adventures." He also states that "there were no Clans among the Gael until after the great Celtic Earls became extinct, and which began in the thirteenth century." Septs he describes as minor "families, who, though possessing no tartan of their own, are entitled to wear that of the Clan, with whom they are connected or on whom they are dependent." The first list of Highland Clans was dated 1587, there was another in 1594.



A Trospect of Mingary Castle from if



MINGARRY CASTLE, ARDNAMURCHAN.

mon before him the tenants of Ardnamurchan to fix and collect the Earl's rents and punish refractory tenants."

The author of *The Last Macdonalds of Isla* writes: "It was at Mingarry that Alexander Macdonald and his men landed from Ireland to assist Montrose, and as a strong garrison was kept there up to Montrose's overthrow, it may be taken for granted that such of the MacIains as remained, rallied to their kinsman's standard. [See date 1644]. The "Prospect of Mingarry Castle" is copied here from the book just mentioned, and is said to show the castle as it appeared in 1734. It is explained that the wall around it formed "a kind of polygon for the purpose of adapting itself to the projecting angles of the precipice overhanging the sea, and on which the castle stands." A more modern and artistic representation of the Castle, from another point of view, is also given (reproduced from Clan Donald, II., 158).

To resume the Notes:

About the middle of 1602, certain troubles originating in the never-ending dispute about lands, culminated in the MacLeans assisting the MacKenzies by invading the territories of the MacDonalds of Islay, Ardnamurchan and Glencoe, those chiefs being about to assist their namesakes the Clan Ranald of Glengarry; but Archibald Campbell, seventh earl of Argyle, claiming the MacDonalds to be his vassals, procured criminal letters against the MacLeans. It was probably in the course of the "variance and contraversie" referred to, between the MacKenzies and Glengarries, that "Glengarry's son was killed in battle near Ellondonan, and buried in the doorway of the Church of Kintail, so that the MacKenzies might trample on him every Sunday." (Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1602).

The following seems to be in some respects a different set of occurrences from those under date 1601:

The chiefs of the principal clans were summoned in 1605 to appear at Kintyre before Sir David Murray, (Lord Scone), Comptroller of Scotland, for the payment of the King's rents and duties, showing of title-deeds, etc.; only the MacDonalds of Dunyveg went; the rest, including the MacIans of Ardnamurchan and Glencoe did not attend the meeting, probably knowing that their only tenure was arms and men, and certainly not "crotchets upon parchment;" so the Marquis of Huntly undertook

to extirpate "the barbarous people of the Isles, within a year." Fortunately for them the marquis belonged to the church of Rome, and the jealous Presbyterians of the council decreed that he should hear sermons in order to reclaim him from his errors; the delay actually seems to have postponed a "massacre of Glencoe." (Adapted from the *History of the Clan MacLean*).

"From all this it would appear that the authority of the Argyle family had not been established in Ardnamurchan, and that the Clan Iain still possessed that territory, though illegally, upon the old charters . . . Lord Ochiltree was appointed lieutenant [holding place for the King], in 1608, and held court at Aros in Mull, in that year. MacIain of Ardnamurchan wisely avoided falling into the trap which was so skilfully laid for the other Chiefs. Lord Ochiltree, however, on his return from his expedition, reported to the Privy Council 'anent the House of Ardnamurchan that he held the bond of James Campbell of Lawers that it should be delivered whenever required under a penalty of £10,000' . . . In 1609 the Lords of the Privy Council ordered MacIain to be summoned before them, for a certain day, to 'underly such order as shall be taken with him touching his obedience to his Majesty, under the pain of rebellion.' There is no evidence that MacIain ever answered the summons, and the probability is that he was dead before the day appointed . . . " (Clan Donald, II., 179, 180).

John MacIain left a son,

XII. ALEXANDER, who was a minor at the time of his father's death. In the year 1611 we find from the Register of the Privy Seal, that the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan were led by Donald MacIain, uncle of the minor, who is referred to as Tutor of Ardnamurchan." In 1612, taking advantage of a lull and of the minority of young MacIain, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, made one more effort to establish his authority in the district of Ardnamurchan. (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 180).

The effort is thus mentioned in another work:

"In the year 1612.... Donald Campbell, styled of Barbreck, got a commission to receive the Castle of Mingarry and put keepers there. He was also made Tenant of the Lands... In 1622 he made a false charge against Allister MacIain that he was congregating his men with a view to rebellion. Before 1629 he became Proprietor of Ardnamurchan and was created a Baronet. His

oppression now was greater than ever, so that the poor Mac-Iains, driven from the land, became Sea Rovers, and were called Pirates." The History of the Macdonnells of Antrim says of Sir Donald Campbell and George Campbell of Airds: "Both uncle and nephew were infamous for the cruelty and rapacity with which they rooted out and destroyed the old family and clan of the Macdonalds, known as the MacIains of Ardnamurchan." (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

"In return for his services as Commissioner, Mr. Donald Campbell ("Magister," being originally a churchman) received from Argyle a lease of the lands of Ardnamurchan." His severity was such that the MacIains broke out into open rebellion. Then the Privy Council compelled the Tutor Donald to give a bond "as taking burden for Alexander MacIain of Ardnamurchan, his nephew, and for all persons for whom his nephew was by law obliged to answer, that they should keep good rule in the country and obey the laws;" also that he would appear annually or oftener to render his obedience under penalty of 2000 merks. He looked for help to a third party, and Sir James Macdonald of Dunnyveg having just escaped from Edinburgh Castle, was joined by the MacIains of Ardnamurchan, who rendered conspicuous service during his short and ill-planned campaign, "and thus only succeeded in making themselves still more obnoxious to the Government and the Clan Campbell." Donald MacIain failed to appear, incurred the penalty of 2000 merks and the Council gave a decree against him. Campbell, Argyle's tenant, hastened to put into force the sentence of the Privy Council against Donald MacIain. "About 1619 Donald McEan in Ormisage, John, Angus and Donald his sons, Alaster McAngus VcEan in Ardsliginish, Alaster McConeill VcEan in Camisingle, and a number of others of the Clan Iain were put to the horn and denounced rebels." Matters went from bad to worse, and about 1621 Alexander MacIain was at the head of his men in open rebellion, and bidding defiance to the whole Campbell Clan; and his sureties Macleod, Clanranald and Mac-Lean of Coll were summoned for not exhibiting certain rebels of the Clan Iain for whom they had pledged themselves, and they also were declared rebels. (Abridged from Clan Donald II., 181-185).

"The Clan Iain had now broken loose from all ordinary modes

of warfare, and, taking to a piratical life, they became the terror of the Western seas. It seems to us that, judged by the standard of their time, and their peculiar circumstances, there was much to justify the conduct of the MacIains. They had been pressed hard for years by their enemies, the Campbells, who had by unfair means dispossessed them of their lawful inheritance. For the repressive measures of the Government itself, it is difficult to find excuse, for the MacIains of Ardnamurchan were not sinners above all the other Hebrideans. The piratical band of Clansmen having seized an English ship, which they manned and armed, the Government at once took steps to suppress the insurrection." (Ibid., II., 185, 186).

Some of the measures taken against the "Clan Ean" are detailed in the work last quoted, and also in *The Great Marquess*, by John Wilcox, p. 17; and among them warrant was given to James, Archbishop of Glasgow [the Church was then a Church Militant] and Sir William Livingston to provide vessels well armed, for the pursuit of the Clan Ean; also a commission of fire and sword was given to Lord Lorn and four lairds against them; the MacIains, however, continued operations which would now be called piratical, but under the persuasion of those times, that almost "all property was common by the law of of nature."

In 1625 the Council wrote to the King about the 'rebellis of the Clan Eane be whom not only your maiesties awne subjectis, bot the subjectis of otheris princes yor maiesties friends and confederates were havelie distrest and robbed of thair shippis and goodis and some of them cruellie and barbarouslie slain.' The rebels, pursued by Lord Lorne and other notables, were driven from the Southern to the Northern Isles; from the island of Skye they were pursued across the Minch to the main land, where, in the Clanranald's country, (some of whom had joined them), they hid themselves in the woods and caves of Arisaig and Moidart. (Abridged from *Clan Donald*, II., 186, 187).

"The MacIain rebellion being at length suppressed, Lord Lorn and those associated with him, landed at Ardnamurchan, and made a pretence of driving away the few followers of the Clan Iain that still remained there. Lorn was thanked by the Privy Council for his services, and Mr. Donald Campbell became proprietor of Ardnamurchan for an annual feu duty of 2000

merks, payable to Argyle, the Superior. The Clan Iain now ceased to exist as a territorial family. It appears, however, that Alexander MacIain, the head of the family, received a considerable sum of money in name of compensation for his claims on the lands of Ardnamurchan. At Edinburgh, on the 22nd of April, 1629, he gives his bond for £40,000 Scots to Robert Innes, burgess of Fortrose, a sum which represented at that time a very large fortune. It appears from this transaction that however much the family of Ardnamurchan may have suffered otherwise, they were now, financially at least, in a very flourishing condition." (Ibid., II., 187).

"Very little is known of the history of the MacIains as a family from the time of their landing in the Moidart district in 1625... According to the Morar MS., John Macdonald of Clanranald became answerable to the King for the future good behaviour of the Clan Iain. As we have seen, they had already acknowledged Clanranald as their Chief, and the small remnant now left of them identified themselves with his branch of the Clan Donald." (Ibid., II., 187, 188).

Though we may have only one further mention to make of members of the Ardnamurchan family, it may be interesting to note a few quotations in which the names of their former places and territories are mentioned; they themselves were included among "The Islesmen."

Slightly different from the account above is one in Moidart, or Among the Clanranalds, by the Reverend Charles MacDonald:

"When the MacIans of Ardnamurchan were chased from the sea and forced to give up their career of piracy, it is related of one of their bands that being hotly pursued by a Government ship, and some galleys belonging to the hostile clans, they ran their vessel ashore near Ardtoe, and taking to the woods between that place and Sheilfoot baffled the search of the enemy. They afterwards crossed the Sheil river and became absorbed among the Clanranald MacDonalds."

The MacIains had disappeared as a Clan, but mention remains of their localities, their acts among the Islesmen, and of a few individuals.

"In 1644 determined effort was made to support the King [Charles] from Ireland. The Earl of Antrim got full power from the Irish Confederates, exerted himself to the uttermost,

and under promise of Scottish support, raised and equipped over 2000 men, whom he placed under the command of Alexander Macdonald. He sailed in the "Harp," the first body consisting of about 1600 men, and they landed at Mingarry on 8th July, 1644. There was none to welcome them, and it is possible a retreat would have been ordered, were it not that their transports had been surprised and burnt. Here the genius of Macdonald displayed itself. He determined to establish a safe basis of operation, took and garrisoned the Castles of Mingarry and Lochaline, and felt secure enough to act on the aggressive straggling bodies of these men were constantly cut off, and quarter was never given. Indeed it may be said that hardly a man returned to Ireland. (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

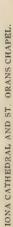
Before 1670 a document, bearing no date, was drawn up, in which Sir James Macdonald of Sleat was acknowledged as "chief of the whole name and family of Macdonald," and the declaration was signed by the chieftains of Ardnamurchan and Glencoe. But previously, one of the Dunnyveg Macdonalds seems to have been held responsible for "thair haill kyn of Clan Donald." (Adapted from Clan Donald, III., 167). The Declaration, which is very short, is among the appendices to the same volume, and begins: "Be it kend till all men That we undersubscribers do testify" etc.. The second statement in Clan Donald is found in the Calendar of State Papers nearly a hundred years before, that in 1575 the Earl of Essex incloses information from Ireland to Oueen Elizabeth, that several chieftains in Scotland, and among them "the Captain of Clan Rannall, have chosen among them Lord McConnell [indexed Donald McDonald] to be their lord and ruler of the isles."

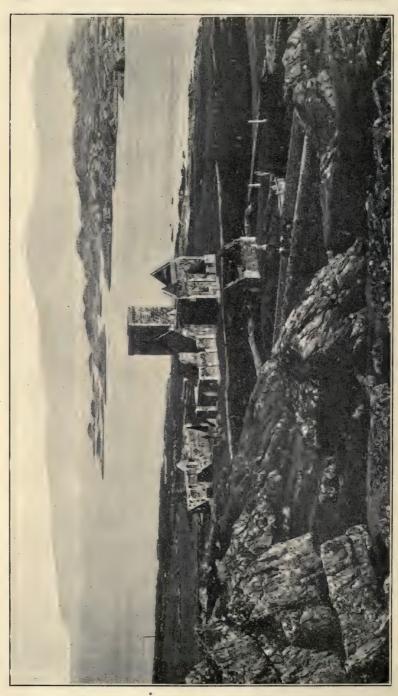
About 1685 upwards of forty families in various districts of the west of Scotland, including Sunart and Ardnamurchan, gave up the Protestant religion, following the example of their Chief Macdonald of Sleat, who wished to gratify King James II. in that respect. It is thought that certain emigration from Scotland to Ireland about this time, was to avoid being called on to make a similar change. (Adapted from Rob Roy and his Times).

At the battle of Killiecrankie, fought in 1689, the reinforcements from Ardnamurchan and other places had not joined, because the day set had not arrived; but it was resolved to

attack at once, and the Islesmen were on the extreme left in this victory.

Those McKeans who are able and willing to travel outside the beaten path, should visit Iona, a spot replete with historical memories, and sacred to both branches of the clan, as containing the graves of some of its ancestors (see the dates 1329, 1518, etc.), Kingussie or Badenoch, in Inverness-shire, twenty-three miles east-south-east of Fort Augustus (see 1719), must be easy of access as it is on the Perth-Inverness railway. An interesting description of Iona and its Cathedral appears in the History of the Clan MacLean, from which book and from other sources we take the liberty of borrowing a few notes. The island is a small one off the southern point of Mull, and variously called I, Hii, Hy, Ioe, Aoi, and by the English Icolmkill (the church of St. Columba). It is believed to have been one of the last retreats of the druids. St.Columba, of the royal family of Ireland, with twelve companions, founded a monastery there in the sixth century, and which was long the first seminary of learning in Europe. His monks and priests were called Gillean-De, or servants of God, whence the word Culdee, and for the most part they kept aloof from the influence of Rome. In the eighth and twice in the ninth century, Scandinavian rovers burned the monastery, at that time the only European sanctuary of real learning. It was rebuilt, but in the ninth and tenth centuries suffered from the Danes, and in the eleventh from the Normans. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Romish monks gained the ascendency, first the Cluniacs and later the Benedictine monks and nuns, and the present ruins are those of the Benedictine establishment. In 1561 an Act was passed by the Convention of Estates "for demolishing all the abbeys of monks and friars, and for suppressing whatsomever monuments of idolatrie were remaining in the realm." So the monastery was bombarded with cannon, three hundred and sixty crosses cast into the sea, the great library, together with the registers, burned, (Keltic literature sustaining an irreparable loss thereby), and the very sepulchres of the dead were rifled. The lands fell into the hands of MacLean of Duard. The most commanding of the remaining ruins is Saint Mary's Cathedral, some blocks in its walls being of immense size. St. Oran's Chapel, close by, is now roofless and stands in the principal cemetery; it was erected

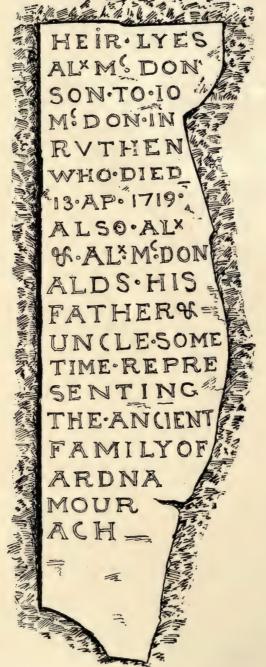




in the eleventh century by Queen Margaret. In the large enclosure, in the cathedral and in this chapel have been buried many saints; sixty-four monarchs of Ireland, Norway, France and Scotland (the last including MacBeth); chiefs and potentates of the isles, notably MacDonalds [and as we have seen, MacIans], MacLeans, MacLeods, MacKinnons, MacKenzies, MacQuarries and others of powerful families; while ladies of rank and prioresses are entombed within the chapel of the Nunnery. The American Cyclopædia states that in 1543 Anna Macdonald, the last prioress, died. In 1635, King Charles I. wrote to the MacLean of that time: "Trustie, etc. Whereas we wer informed that of late yow and your umquhile brother Hectour McCleane did without ordour or anie right violentlie intrude yourself in the possession of the Yle of Ycolmekill which belongeth to the Bischop of the Yles for the time" . . . therefore he is to restore the island to the bishop. Its present inhabitants, two or three hundred in number, depend for their support on fishing and agriculture.

"Lone isle! though storms have round thy turrets rode—
Though their red shafts have sear'd thy marble brow—
Thou wert the temple of the living God,
And taught earth's millions at his shrine to bow.
Though desolation wraps thy glories now
Still thou wilt be a marvel through all time
For what thou hast been; and the dead who rot
Around the fragments of thy towers sublime
Once taught the world, and sway'd the realm of thought,
And ruled the warriors of each northern clime."—Moore.

One of the latest notices about Iona appeared in *The Churchman* of New York, in July, 1903: "The apparently unfounded rumor that the Carthusians were about to purchase Iona, the island sacred to the memory of Columba, from the Duke of Argyll, leads the Paris Figaro to raise this voice of protest, which is not without general application: "When a corner of the earth possesses such a history, when the forces of nature and the abandonment by men have invested it with such an aureole of solitude and of savage grandeur, is it not a mistake to flood it with a new life? Has it not acquired the right to that respect which we accord to relics? Iona is unique of its kind, and surely the Duke of Argyll is rich enough to preserve it as it now is, and to defend it against whomever would come to disturb its sublime memories."



TOMBSTONE OF THE LAST MACIAINS OF ARDNAMURCHAN,
IN ST. COLUMBA CHURCHYARD, KINGUSSIE.

Of the tombstone of the last of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan in St. Columba Churchyard, Kingussie, and which is intimated to belong approximately to the date 1719—Mr. Fraser Mackintosh says: "it would seem that two of the MacIains remained in Ruthven in poverty and obscurity. Through the exertion of Mr. Alexander Macpherson, Banker in Kingussie, the old churchyard of that parish was, some years ago, restored and beautified. A grave stone with inscription was brought to light, of the rudest material, lettering and language, as may be seen by the *fac-simile* given, prepared for these papers by the kindness of Mr. Mackenzie, Surveyor's Office, Kingussie, and Mr. John Campbell, Inspector of Poor, there." The inscription indicates that even in its original condition the stone was a broken fragment. Our illustration is from *The Last Macdonalds of Isla*.

It is highly improbable that there are no descendants of the chiefs of this once powerful House, in fact, a family will be mentioned hereafter, but as a broken clan could have no chief, and professional genealogists would not record the histories of landless men with no following, there are probably no published tables of descent of the later Ardnamurchan MacIans.

SECTION III.—MACIANS OF GLENCOE.



This sept of the MacDonalds derived its local title from a glen through which the stream called Coe or Cona, passing through Lake Treachatan, flowed on in its way to Loch Leven in what is now Argyleshire in the west of the main land of Scotland. The Glen is the traditional home of the poet Ossian, who was therefore called "the voice of Co'ana." On the north side of the valley of the Cona is the Hill of Fingal, and close by is "the sunny place of Darthula" (a woman so called from the beauty of her eyebrows). Later we will have to allude to the rugged mountains which encompass the Glen, but which did not shelter the unfortunate inhabitants from powerful enemies.

A Smith is now Laird of the territory; no MacDonald of Glencoe has attained sufficient fortune to have an epitome of his family history recorded in "Peerage" or "Landed Gentry." It therefore requires considerable research to trace anything like a connected narrative of this sept of Clan Donald.

Surrounded as they were by other clans: the Camerons on the North, Menzies on the East, Campbells on the South and Stewarts of Appin on the West, the Clan Ian Abrach has been termed an ''outpost of the Macdonalds,'' and much of their history is interwoven with that of these neighboring clans.

Coke upon Littleton says that a man may have more than one surname, and this appears to have been the case with the MacDonalds or MacIans of Glencoe. The murdered chief who was the victim of the famous Glencoe Massacre was known indifferently as M'Kean, Maccean, M'Ean, MacIan, and MacDonald or M'Donald, and M'Ian the artist is spoken of in the Dictionary of National Biography as being descended from the old M'Ians or Macdonalds of Glencoe. In cases like this it seems to have been optional with the Highlanders to retain the sept or family patronymic, or to revert to the clan surname. An illustration is afforded of this, in the case of the celebrated French marshal, MacDonald, whose father, a member of the Macdonald Clan, was known as Neil McKechin.

The industrious and accomplished compilers of Clan Donald begin their Chapter VII. of Volume II., ("The Macdonalds of Glencoe"), by acknowledging that "The history of this branch of the Clan Donald is beset perhaps by greater difficulties than that of any other family in the wide confederacy. During long periods its Annals are worse than obscure, they are hopelessly blank . . . Even in the sixteenth century, when light dawns upon the rest of the Clan Donald after the fall of the Island lordship, the Clanian of Glencoe continue to lurk in their dark and cavernous retreats, and their history, until the seventeenth century, is almost entirely a blank. One reason for this was that the Chiefs of Glencoe never became Crown vassals, or if they did, it was only at a very late period of their history. They occupied lands which for the most part were held by Crown vassals, and thus the public records which throw so much light upon the ownership of land in the case of the other Clan Donald septs, are silent on the Clanian, and it is only when the Records of the Scottish Privy Council become available for purposes of research that the Glencoe family, who gave the authorities a lively time, cease to elude the historians' grasp. (Clan Donald, II., 189, 190).

Both M'Vurich and Hugh Macdonald* are at one as to the tradition that Iain Og an fhraoich—young John of the heather—the progenitor of the Glencoe family, was a natural son of Angus Og of Isla, Lord of the Isles, by Dugall MacHenry's daughter. Why he was called John of the heather we have now no means of ascertaining, nor are there data available for confirming or rejecting the tradition that there was a bar sinister on his escutcheon.† We know little of him beyond the fact that his father gave him the land of Glencoe, apparently by verbal gift. (*Ibid.*, II., 190.)

For the little that is known of some of the forefathers of Iain Fraoch, including Conn the Fighter in the 2nd century, Colla Uais in the 4th, the "Mighty Somerled" in the 12th and the first Donald in the 13th, we refer the reader to other and more pretentious works, but a few paragraphs may be found in Section I.— "Early Ancestors."

As to the lands mentioned above, it may be stated here that Glencoe, together with the other territories of Angus were conferred upon John the Good, in 1325, by Edward Balliol, who claimed to be king of Scotland. The grants, also including Ardinton (Ardnamurchan) were ratified by Edward III. of England, for Balliol acknowledged the English king as his superior and Lord Paramount, and in 1327 King Edward writes him a "blandiloquent epistle."

MacKenzie's History of the Camerons, p. 2, states that according to several authorities, the Camerons, as far back as can be traced, had their seat in Lochaber, part held by the Lord of the Isles as superior, and appeared to have been first connected with the Macdonalds of Islay, in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom Angus Og of Isla had a grant of Lochaber. This is interesting, because Iain Fraoch, the ancestor of the MacIans of Glencoe, was also called Abrach, from his being brought up in the district of Lochaber.

From Iain Fraoch or Abrach the sept got the title MacIain and also Abrochson, both spelt in various ways at various times

^{*}The former an ancient bard and genealogist; the latter the historian of the MacDonalds of Sleat, and who wrote in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

^{†&}quot; John of the Heather" or "Lochaber," is said to have been illegitimate, but clan genealogists were fond of bastardizing other-lines. (Athenæum, 1900, part II., 114).

as will be seen, and apparently it was not until 1617 that a contemporary document refers to a Glencoe chieftain as a Macdonald. He married the daughter and heiress of Dugald McEanruig or MacHenry of Glencoe, though Clan Donald says (III., 212), that she was his mother: through her at any rate he seems to have acquired the territory of Glencoe according to Logan's Clans of the Scottish Highlands. Judging from the Genealogical Table in Andrew Lang's History of Scotland he died about 1358. He is said to have been buried in Iona beside his father. Clan Donald, (II., 191), states that "When we say that the founder of the Glencoe family flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century we tell nearly the whole history of the sept for hundreds of years."

The account of the beginning of the Glencoe branch, in Mackenzie's History of the Macdonalds is much like that given above, though he says: "It has been found impossible to give a complete genealogy of the successive heads of the house. The legitimate male-heirs are said to have entirely died out..." Logan mentions the Clann Mhic Iain Ghlinne Comhann or MacIans [of Glencoe], and gives the arms, crest, motto and badge, for which See Heraldic Notes in the Appendix. "They held high rank among the clans and were sometimes designated of the Isles"... In the time of James VI... it does not appear that the Glencoe people had any share in their [the Ardnamurchans'] desperate conduct, although from the similarity of names it is to be suspected they have been charged with participation in the misdeeds of others."

About 1431 there would appear to have been two John MacIan Abrachs. To avenge an act of treachery by King James I. of Scotland in 1427, Alexander, third Lord of the Isles, in 1429 burnt and pillaged Inverness. The king attacked the insurgent clans unexpectedly in 1431, and the Camerons and Mackintoshes having deserted the Lord of the Isles at Inverlochy, the latter sued for peace, but his friends gave the Cameron lands to a Maclean. Later the Camerons killed the young chief [of the Macleans?] John Abrach, so called from his residence in Lochaber. MacLean calls the latter "MacIan Abrach." (Abridged from the History of the Camerons, 26).

"After John Abrach, there was an unbroken succession of eight Johns." (Clan Donald, II., 192). "The special difficulties

of the genealogy arise from the fact that so many of the same name followed each other in the chiefship, and that with nine or ten John Abrachs and John MacIains and John MacIain Abrachs, it is difficult to make distinctions. (*Ibid.*, III., 212).

I. JOHN FRAOCH or Abrach, died 1358.

II. JOHN ABRACHSON. (MacIain Fraoch?)

III. JOHN ABRACHSON. (Og MacIain Fraoch?)

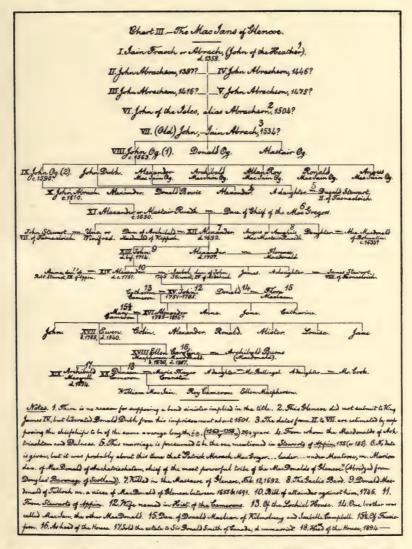
IV. JOHN ABRACHSON. (MacIain Og?)

V. John Abrachson "of Glencoe," was one among other Clan Donald vassals who had not yet acknowledged the new order of things when James IV. held court at Dunstaffnage, August 18, 1493, to receive homage. (*Ibid.*, I. 285).

VI. JOHN ABRACHSON. "John of the Isles alias Abrochson" is referred to as Chief of the Clan at the date of the last forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles [1494]. (Gregory's History of the Western Highlands, 67). We also find in the History of the Camerons, 44, that about 1497 the Mackintoshes successfully invaded the Clan Ian of Glencoe.

This was in retaliation for a raid related in quaint language: "Anno 1496 Cameronii de Lochabir, Appin, et Ronoch cum quibusdam a Glencoona, et eâdem nocte invadunt Brebadonochiam et Strathnairn, et clancullum jumentum agmina exportant. Gulielmus subitam in Ronoch et Appin expeditionem facit, ubi, multis Clanchameroniorum trucidatis, eorum agros depopulavit. Eodemque supplicio Glenco affixit, quoniam in prædictis, prædationibus auxiliati sunt." That is to say: In the year 1496 the Camerons of Lochaber, Appin and Rannoch, with some from Glencoe (came), and on the same night invaded Brae Badenoch and Strathnairn, and stealthily carried off herds of cattle. William [13th of Mackintosh] made a sudden raid on Rannoch and Appin, where, after killing many of the clan Camerons, he wasted their lands. He inflicted the same punishment on Glencoe, because they assisted the Camerons in the aforesaid robberies (Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections 231).

About 1497 also, the MacLaurins carried off a creach from the braes of Lochaber. The MacDonalds followed the spoilers, and having overtaken them in Glenurchie, recovered the prey, after a sharp skirmish. The MacLaurins went straight to their kinsman Dugal Stewart of Appin, who, joining them with his followers, they marched hastily in pursuit, and intercepted the



MacDonalds somewhere about the Black Mount in Glencoe, where a desperate conflict forthwith took place. There was dreadful slaughter on both sides; Dugal, and Donull MacAonghais mhic Dhonuill of Keppoch, the chiefs of their respective clans were slain. (Adapted from Logan's Clans of the Scottish Highlands). Although this fight took place on their soil, no mention

is made of the MacIans of Glencoe, but some authorities neglect to mention Glengarry and Glencoe in the Battle of Mullroy, and yet their presence there is well attested.

"In 1500 there is evidence that the Clanian of Glencoe have lost the benefits of the kindly sway of the House of Isla, and that there is an attempt to oust them from their lands. Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne evidently tried not only to evict 'John of the Ilis utherwyis Abrochsoune,' but also Duncan Stewart, son of Stewart of Appin, from the lands of 'Durroure and Glencoyne.' But although decreet in Absence was granted in favour of Argyll and against Glencoe by the Lords of Council, MacIain continued in possession. (Clan Donald, II., 193).

It may be stated that the lands of Glencoe had already passed through several hands. In 1343 they were granted by David II. to John of Yle [the Isles], then held from him by John of Larin and granted anew to the latter in 1354; in 1475 they were forfeited by John of Yle, Earl of Ross, and in 1476 were restored to him. In 1494, after the insurrection of Alexander of Lochalsh, the titles and lordship of the Isles were forfeited and subsequently voluntarily surrendered and in that year James IV. granted John Makgillion [Maclean] of Lochbuie, the fifty-three merk lands of Durgwin and Glencole. These lands were granted by the King to Duncan Stewart of Appin in 1500, and the grant was renewed in 1501. (Stewarts of Appin, 98).

In the rebellion of 1499–1506, caused by the violation of his promises by the King [the revocation of some charters recently granted by him], a party, led by the MacIans of Glencoe, broke into the dungeon where Donald Dhu, grandson of John, Lord of the Isles had been shut up for forty years (having been carried off from Islay when an infant), and sought to place him upon the throne of the Isles. MacIan of Ardnamurchan was on the royal side in this struggle, which resulted in the breaking up of the confederacy of the Island lords, the capture and imprisonment for about forty years more of Donald; but when he escaped for the second time, in 1543, the faithful Islanders again embraced his cause. (Adapted from the *History of the Clan MacLean.*) The dates and ages seem irreconcilable.

Some explanation of this incident may be needed. Skene's Celtic Scotland, III., 404, quotes from the Book of Clanranald:

"The daughter of MacCailin [Argyll] the wife of Aonghus [Og, son of Epin] was pregnant at the time he was killed [Angus Og was murdered by his harper, see entry about 1490 in Section II.] and she was kept in custody" . . . where she gave birth to Donald Dubh; "he was kept in custody until he arrived at the age of thirty years [in 1501?] when the men of Gleann Comhann [Glencoe] brought him out by a Fenian exploit," from the castle of Inchconnel or Innisconnel on Loch Awe. In Ossianic verse "the Fenians are warriors of superhuman size, strength, speed and powers" as the Century Dictionary says; this use of the adjective "Fenian," which is equivalent to the heroic of Greek mythology, is high praise on the part of the hereditary sennachie or genealogist of Clanranald, who was of course a MacVurrich. The rescue led to an attempt on the part of Donald Dubh to resume the office and territory of his grandfather John, last Lord of the Isles, as stated in Lang's History of Scotland, I., 256 The attempt was brought to naught by the efforts of MacIan of Ardnamurchan and others, but the conduct of the men of Glencoe "was a clear indication that whoever was their feudal superior they felt that their loyalty as a tribe was due to the patriarchal head of their race." (Clan Donald, II., 192, 193). The book Stewarts of Appin, about p. 98, says that Lachlan Maclean of Duart joined Donald Dubh in his attempt . . . but that Duncan Stewart of Appin, at the head of his own men and the MacDonalds of Glencoe who then mustered about 150 claymores, opposed Maclean in 1503: no authority is given for this statement that the same men who rescued Donald Dubh but two years previously now fight one of his staunchest allies. very stirring little war is ably described in Clan Donald "Under James IV." However, Donald was again taken prisoner, and almost all of the chiefs gave in their submission about, or a little before, 1508.

VII. "(Old) JOHN, called Iain Abrach. There is no record of his marriage nor of the marriages of the Johns who preceded him. He had three sons—1. John Og, who succeeded; 2. Donald Og; 3. Alastair Og." (Clan Donald, III., 213).

There appears to be a dearth of history of the Glencoe-men at this time; probably they were enduring the disasters which seem to have been common to all septs of the Clan Donald at this period, and possibly were not present at the disastrous battle of Flodden in 1513, where MacIan of Ardnamurchan fought on the Scottish side.

On June 6th, 1522, John Campbell of Calder, brother of the Earl of Argyll, obtained from Maclean of Lochbuy the assignment of his obsolete and revoked charter (Gregory's Western Highlands, 126), dated 1494, of the lands of Durrour, Glencoe and part of the lands of Lochiel, but the Stewarts of Appin, MacDonalds of Glencoe, and Camerons of Lochiel effectually resisted his efforts to take possession. The matter was arbitrated at Edinburgh in 1528 with the result that the award was made in favor of Calder. The latter resigned these lands to the King [James V.], and the Council of which Argyll was a member, (James being a minor), granted them to the Earl. On attaining his majority the King revoked all charters granted during his minority, and December 7th, 1538, granted to Alan Stewart . . . the twenty merk land of Glenkowne. . . . James V. died in 1542, and in 1547, Queen Mary being a child and Argyll regaining authority in the West of Scotland, Alan resigned the lands of Duror, Ballachelish and Glencoe to the Queen, and they were re-conveyed to the Earl of Argvll, son of the former Earl. Argyll then re-conveyed these lands to Alan at a smaller feu-rent than that which Alan in his original charter had covenanted to pay the Crown. (Stewarts of Appin, 105, 106).

In 1542 James V. was at war with England, but the Scottish barons were disloyal or lukewarm; "the influence of Henry VIII. with the leaders of the Reformation movement in Scotland was the main cause of the disaffection of the barons to their own King, who still continued to support the Church of Rome; James felt the national lack of support so keenly that it has been thought that his death in this year was largely due to that cause. As is often the case, politics mingled with religion, and about this time the Roman Catholics happened to be on the side of Scottish independence with Franch aid, while the Protestants opposed them and hoped for English assistance; but Henry VIII. interposed so bluntly, and his supporters in Scotland sought to act so treacherously that for a while at least, all parties in Scotland united. This stormy period seemed to be a fitting opportunity for Donald Dubh, who escaped from Edinburgh Castle in 1543, to lay claim not only to the Lordship of the Isles to which he had once been proclaimed, but also to the Earldom

of Ross, to which his claim was very shadowy; he therefore, with the Islesmen, excepting James Macdonald of Dunnyveg, invaded Argyle about 1544, with threats to proceed further, insomuch that in Aberdeen "the hayll tooun" by "hand bell passand throcht all the rewis and stretis" made "iugment" . . . "of taxt, for furnising of ane thousand horse to remain with the locumtenant on the bordouris, for resisting of our auld enemies of Ingland" and also" for resisting of Donald Ilis quhilk with his complices is cumand, as is allegit upoun the quenes [Regent's] landis of Ross for inuasion thairof and conquising of the same." England made new advances for an alliance with the House of Isla, and a treaty was entered into in 1545, so the Scottish Government issued a proclamation against "Donald alleging himself of the Isles and other Highlanders his partakers." (Abridged from Clan Donald I., 368, 371, etc.).

VIII. John Og (1), who appears first on record in 1563, and in whose time and in that of his successor the Clan Iain Abrich became very numerous. As his successor was also called John Og, the two have to be carefully distinguished. John Og (1) had a family of seven sons—(A) John Og (2), who succeeded. (B) John Dubh, progenitor of the families of Dalness and Achtriachtan . . . (C) Alexander MacIain Oig, in Larach. (D) Archibald MacIain Oig. (E) Allan Roy MacIain Oig. (F) Ronald MacIain Oig. (G) Angus MacIain Oig. (Clan Donald, III., 213).

"In 1563. John Og MacAne Abrycht' was in lawful possession or occupation of the lands of Glencoe under Colin Campbell of Glenurquhay, who held them from the Crown. On 6th May of that year a contract of protection and manrent is signed by both parties. In this bond Campbell undertakes to defend the Chief of Clanian in the possession of his lands, while John Og on the other hand becomes bound to serve the Laird of Glenurquhay against all persons whatsoever, save only the authority and my Lord Argyll. It is stipulated that the contract shall at once become void if John Og does not instantly serve against the Clan Gregor. In 1588 a Commission of Justiciary was given by James VI. to George, Earl of Huntly, John Grant of Freuchie, and others against a number of Highland chiefs, and amongst them John M'Ane Oig in Glencoe and Alexander M'Ane Oig,' probably sons of the John Og M'Ane Abrycht who gave the

bond of manrent to Glenurquhay in 1563. That the Clanian Abraich were at this time, as indeed they must have been at all times, a terror to neighbouring communities, is proved by contemporary records." (*Ibid*, II., 190).

Curiously enough, a letter from Campbell to the keeper of his Castle of Glenurquhay, and dated August 18, 1570, shows that the latter was named Gregor McAne, presumably of Glencoe (Clan Gregor, I., 189). The beginning of the last paragraph accounts for a Glencoe man holding office under a Campbell.

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland contains in 1583 the complaint of Coline Campbell of Glenloyoun,—that a number of persons, including four McAines, etc., "with their complices, . . . cam by the break of day . . . and masterfully reft the servants of the complainer, forth of their lands . . ." The Lords of the Council order all the culprits to be denounced rebels. [The Campbells of Glenlyon never rested from their complaints until they had assisted in working the ruin of the MacIans at Glencoe].

Allan Cameron, sixteenth of Lochiel, assumed command of his clan for the second time in 1585; thirty pages of *Mackenzie's* book are devoted to this chief, who interests us particularly as he was called "Alein MacIan Duibh" and "Alein MacDhomnuill Duibh," showing that the names MacIan and MacDonald were in a sense interchangeable more than three hundred years ago, the former being a personal and the latter the clan designation, and indicating as Mackenzie states, that some at least of the Camerons were originally MacDonalds. It is not so pleasant, however, to read that "On the 30th of June, 1589, we find Allan and Grant [of Freuchie] entering into a bond of mutual friendship, directed specially against the Macdonalds of Glencoe."

"The territorial position of the Clanian isolated them from the more powerful branches of the Clan Donald, and they were on all hands surrounded by powerful and hostile neighbours, while their wild and almost unapproachable fastnesses, inaccessible to strangers save at most imminent risk of fatal ambuscades, enabled them to carry on their forays and depredations almost with entire impunity, and these, of course, were no infringement of the ancient code of Celtic ethics." (Clan Donald, II., 194).

According to the Reg. Privy Council Scot., John Stewart of Appin is summoned in 1586 to appear, because certain of his

men, tenants and servants had committed wrongs: among them are Allaster, John and Donald Oig Mcanebrych [MacIanabrich, MacIan Abrich]; not appearing, he was "ordained to be denounced rebel."

In the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (James VI., A. D. 1587), the Clane mckane of Avricht, (spelled Clan-Mackeane Awricht in Townsend's Manual of Dates, and Clan MacIan of Abrach elsewhere), is included in "The Roll of ye clannis yat hes capitanes cheiffis and chiftanes quhome on that depend of tymes aganis ye willis of thair landislordis alsweill on ye borderes as hielandes and of sum speale personis of branches of ye saidis clannis."

It seems to have been about 1588 that a circumstance occurred, referred to in Macleay's Rob Roy and his Times. Some young Glencoe men being caught trespassing in the royal deer forest of Glenartney, their ears were cropped. In revenge they cut off the head of Drummond of Drummondernoch, the leader of the men who had ill-treated them; and the sight of his bloody head caused his sister, Mrs. Stewart of Ardvoirlich to be crazed for a while, with the result that her son, (who was born soon after), became the gloomy Stewart of Ardvoirlich, a character in Scott's Legend of Montrose, and who murdered Lord Kilpont, Montrose's friend. The narrative, with more of its repulsive details is told in Clan Gregor, II., 1. Scott rejects the story that the killing was done by any but the MacGregors; Macaulay gives the incident as an illustration of Highland barbarity, in his apology for the Glencoe Massacre, but even he does not attribute it to the clan he was defaming,—the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Sometime toward the end of the sixteenth century, Stewart of Strathgarry having taken possession of lands in the upper part of Rannoch, which had been possessed by a Macdonald, was surprised by a party of that clan and killed for dispossessing their kinsman. . . . The Stewarts of Appin, Balquhidder and Athol entered into a written bond to avenge the death of Strathgarry, and they met at the Blackmount in Glencoe. They had letters of Fire and Sword against the murderers of Stewart of Strathgarry, which his widow had procured from the Privy Council at Stirling. As it was in the month of June, the Macdonalds of Glencoe were out at their shealings in the Blackmount, when

they were surrounded by the Stewarts and a number killed. The Laird of Glencoe and his brother were among the slain, and their heads were cut off, to be sent to Stirling and presented to the Privy Council, as proof that their orders had been carried out. The messenger appears to have been of a grotesquely humorous turn of mind, and to have indulged in gibes at the heads and to have "joked" with the Lady of Ardvoirlich in reference to them. (Abridged from The Stewarts of Appin, 152, 153). The use of the term shealings indicates that the clan were in rude huts for their summer quarters, it being the custom in the Highlands for the natives to take their flocks and herds into the mountains upon the approach of warm weather.

IX. John Og (2), succeeded John Og (1), about 1590. He had three sons—(A) John Abrach, his successor. (B) Alexander. (C) Donald Bowie. (Clan Donald, III., 213). In 1588, 1591 and 1592, the name is spelt M'Ane Oig, M'Inoig and MacEan Oig, respectively. (Ibid., II., 193, 195, 196).

"During the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Act of James V. rendering a baron responsible for the behaviour of his servants, or feudal inferiors, was called into requisition in connection with the Clanian of Glencoe. Serious complaints were laid before the King and Council in 1591 as to the numerous cases of foray and plunder whereby the lieges were victimized. The Earl of Argyll proved to be guilty, not only feudally and vicariously, but really as particeps criminis in a serious foray in which the men of Glencoe and others were involved during 1591." Briefly, a certain Campbell was invited to a wedding among the Ogilvies, and managed to insult the bride and stab her father: he narrowly escaped hanging, but being treated with great indignity he was expelled; he complained to his kinsman the Earl. "Argyll mustered the Glencoe men, the Keppoch men, and others, and sent them to invade and spoil the Ogilvies and their glen. The raid, we may be sure, was executed with much zeal and success, and the rapidity with which the marauders marched was such that Lord Ogilvie in his complaint to the King said that he was 'nocht able to resist them, but with grite difficultie and short advertisement he his wyffe and bairnis eschaiped.' The complaint . . . referred to Archibald Earl of Argyll and his friends, particularly Allan Roy M'Inoig son to the Laird of Glencoe and 500 other marauders." Failing to appear on citation they were denounced rebels. Later in the year, "John Og M'Ane Abrych in Glencone, Allaster Og M'Ane Abrych his brother, and Donald Og M'Ane Abrick, brother to John Og elder" made a raid against John Drummond of Blair, and this time "without the countenance and patronage of the Earl of Argyll." John Stewart of Appin was summoned to answer for it, but "there is nothing to indicate the penal consequences of this last outlawry." (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 195).

In 1592 "it was reported to the King and Council that John MacEan Oig in Glencone" with two of his brothers, "were guilty of open and manifest oppression, murder, sorning, theft—a sufficiently formidable indictment," ... and were declared rebels and fugitives ... "but it does not appear that the men of Glencoe labored very long under the sentence of outlawry, for we find the same year [or 1593 according to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland] that 'MacAne Abrich of Glencone,' along with MacAne of Ardnamurchane and others, was, by the King and on advice of his Council, relaxed from the horn." Abridged from Ibid, II., 195, 196).

The General Index of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, a ponderous folio, states in 1593 that the Clan MacKane of Aruicht is an unruly clan; (this refers to an entry given as MacIans of Avricht); candor compels us to admit that such appears to be the case.

"For several years after the foregoing events there is calm in the stormy annals of Glencoe, at least so far as these are disclosed by the Records of the Privy Council; but it is the calm that follows as well as precedes the tempest. In 1599 Allaster MacEan Oig and his men, under John Og MacEan Abrich, reft from David Craig out of his fold of Drumcharrie 'seven great kye' and a bull worth £140. This was only preliminary to much greater deeds of 'herschipp.'" (Clan Donald, II., 196).

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland notes in 1600, that Johnne McFatrick VcEane was delivered to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy for his keeping, as one of the pledges of Allester McGregour of Glenstra. The authors of Clan Donald intimate that this refers to "the slaughter of Lennox at Glenfruin, a conflict . . . where eighty of the Colquboun Clan were

slain," but that the connection of the Clanian of Glencoe with the affair was "subordinate and incidental." We fear, however, that dates and authorities refer to still another evil deed later on, for which the Privy Council proceeded against Allan Oig McIntnach of Glencoe, who in 1609 was accused of assisting the Clan Gregor of Glenfruin, and of murdering defenseless persons. But here the MacGregors charge the act to the ferocity of a single man of their tribe, said to have been an ancestor of Rob Roy. (Irving's West of Scotland in History, 153). The Council made it an offense punishable with death to bear the name Macgregor, or to give any of the clan food or shelter: so some of them assumed the name Gregory.

In the same year and Work, (Reg. Priv. Council, Scot.), Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, complains that some McNauchtanes, McGregours, Campbells and others, including half a dozen MacIan "abrichis," came at night to the wood of Ardincaple, remaining till morning in order to kill Aula McCaula [Macaulay] or "that they mycht have persewit him of his lyfe" . . . they seized some messengers and servitours, one named McIntailliour . . . and "verie hardlie intertenyit them" . . . but "feiring to have bene persewit be the cuntrie people they depairtit," spoiling some houses and reiving some cattle . . . the defendants not appearing, are denounced as rebels.

Moreover, in 1601, Archibald, Earl of "Ergyle" was charged, as master and landlord of Allaster McCeane Oig of Glenco, for not entering him, and was to be denounced rebel.

And we read in April, 1602, that there is a complaint of "Johne Campbell, comissary of Invernes," that in February last a number of Highlanders, including nine hereafter tabulated among "McEans and apparent connections,"—came to Moy, "quhar they tressonablie and awfullie raised fyre, brunt and destroyed his haill houssis"... besides the "whole insight and plenishings" within the said houses, while another company of the said party committed murder—"the lyk of quhilk barbarous and beistlie crueltie, committit sa fer within the incuntrey, has semdle bene hard of." The order is to denounce them all as rebels.

In June, George and James Dumbar are placed under "bands" in 2,000 marks each, to obey the King's letters forbidding them to "intercommune" with a long list of spoilers who had been

denounced rebels, for coming, as described in the preceding paragraph, in fair daylight to the lands of Moy, belonging to Johne Campbell, Commissary of "Inuerness," and treasonably burning of his buildings and corns, [sic] spuilying oxen and sheep and slaying three men: among these rebels are twenty-two of the scape-grace MacEans catalogued subsequently. It may be interesting to note that one of them,—Alexander, had a brother also called Alexander; for there are several instances in old times, of living brothers bearing the same first or baptismal name. On the same day, some of the Dumbars, one of them a sheriff, were charged, among other things, with bringing into the country of Murray several MacIans, one "of Glenko," and becoming assurance for them and furnishing them with food divers days and nights, etc.

In July, Duncane Meinzeis petitions that he is not answerable for certain men,—among them Duncane McEane Cam in Fothergill, one of the tutors to the son of the late Geir McCondachy:as Robertson of Strowan (named also as a complainer) was so answerable, he was ordered denounced a rebel. Some of the McKechins, VcAchanes, etc., complain that many persons,-"all the said Laird of Glengarry's men," came in the night, set fire to houses, and "maist mercyleslie murtherit and slew" several individuals; and "Immediately afterwards, the malefactors had repaired to the Laird of Glengarry, and 'with all glaidnes of hairt were ressett be him and upoun his landis;" " the order is to denounce them. This appears to have been a family quarrel, for there are names indexed MacIan on both sides, i. e., as complainers and defenders; nine of them appear in the list following the year 1550. Towards the end of the month, Katharene Reid, relict of Mr. [Magister, he being a Cleric] Alexander Dumbar, dean of Murray, brings a libel against the Baron of Kilravock for resetting certain evil-doers, among whom was Johne Dow McEane Roy, alias Girls. And on the same day there is a complaint of William Ros of Kilraack [Kilravock aforesaid?] that some sinners, indexed MacIan, with others, came "in the dawing of the day," murdered Alexander McMiechell in Geddes and servant and spuilvied his whole goods. And again one particularly irrepressible Alaster, "in Glaik (of Glenko)," with others, set on fire houses in Geddes, with the whole plenishing of the same, estimated at £5,000, etc., etc.

In August, Archibald Earl of "Ergyle" was ordered to be denounced for not appearing or presenting certain individuals, including a McEane McAllaster in Glencoane and three McEwne McGregours, for reiving horses and cattle. Archibald Herring of Drummane accuses one Duncane McEane Birrach, with others, of reiving: the property was to be restored or £10 paid for each animal. Donnald Menteith of Carquhen charges that a McEancheir [MacIan-Keir?] and his brothers, tenants of the Laird of Strowane, had reft some animals.

In September a similar complaint is made by Johne Ferguson of Dercullych, against a McEane Abrich, Duncan Stewart of Appin's man, and others; for which, Stewart not appearing nor producing the McEane, is to be denounced rebel. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy got into trouble for non-entry of his man, a McEane VcGillechonane: some of our readers will be agreeably shocked to learn that in this case two McEanes were on the side of the law. Also that another,—one of the Laird of Gairnetullie's men, actually complains of a spuilvie. But, ber contra, Sir Duncan had been charged to enter a McEane to answer a complaint about a horse, which was ordered to be restored in as good condition as when it was taken away. And another McEane, servant of the Laird of Glenurquhy had been "reiving kye." There is also entered an accusation of Alexander Flemyng against certain "disorderit" men of Glenco, in which case the complainer is to be paid £16 for each ox proven to have been slain and eaten in a certain house. Our young friend "Allaster McEane Oig of Glenko," accompanied by a number of "sornaris of his awne Clan and utheris, came to Fernes and Auchnebechan" and elsewhere on their usual quest of pillage, accompanied this time with murder; he had for accessories a long list of Macs, some of whose names are suspiciously like MacIan. Sir Johne Murray of Tullibairdin complains that he is "wrongously" charged for not entering several persons, whereas he had been "ordained" only to enter one,—Andro McEane Roy in the Head of Glencoich, servant to the complainer.

In November, Archibald, Earl of Argyle came under censure for inefficient performance of his lieutenancy against the Clan Gregor, which "hes bene and are als insolent and of als wicked and unhappie a dispositioun as they wer at ony tyme preceiding." For example, certain McEans took horses, some described



ARGYLESHIRE.—RIVER COE.



SCENE IN GLENCOE.



as "wild," also "great kye"; they had also "spuilyed the plenishing and moveables" of several people. It should be remembered that a few of these rogues having committed many unlawful acts, their names are repeated, some of them in several different works, so that it seems as if the whole lot were bad. In this month it was also to be proved that certain individuals were men of Archibald, Earl of "Ergyll",—among them a McEane VcGregour, "household man to the Laird of McGregour."

The same work specifies the petition in 1603, of Johne McEandoyn [MacEan the Dark?], "sometime in Tullimat, . . . touching the alleged ejection of him furth of the lands of Balligoun, and reiving of his kye, plenishing and goods." Also the giving of bonds in 500 marks by Johnne Cummyng for Thomas Hepburne, that the latter would not harbor certain people, including two McEans,—during their rebellion.

The general process among the Highlanders of every clan and name appears to have been to make a "spuilyie" upon some neighbor's cattle and goods; then there would be a "summond" issued, which they perhaps never heard of,—at the market-cross of some town in the shire; then they would "fail to compear" on the day fixed for the hearing; so they would be "declared rebel"; which would give an opportunity for the hostile clans to join temporarily with the representatives of the law, in making a counter-descent; in due time those of the sufferers who escaped, would rally, and try to pay off old scores with liberal interest,—and so on.

Although we will meet with mention of bows and arrows later, [in 1665], it is claimed that firearms of a kind, swords and portions of armor were used even by common soldiers at the period we have reached. The Reverends A. Macdonalds show this by "the slaughter of Lennox, which took place in 1603, when 400 freebooters, of whom Clan Iain Abrich formed a large contingent, came armed with pistols, murriones, coats of mail, etc. It is similarly proved that the trews were much more frequently worn than is generally supposed." Some mentions of the arms used of old in Scottish wapenschawings verge on the comic, as when Dixon in *Border Clans*, 79, quotes about "pistolettis and utheris ingynis of fyre work," but he says that in 1540 the only firearms mentioned were culverins.

"In 1605, John, son of John Og MacIain, seems still to be the Chief of Glencoe. That year there is a charge against him to compear personally with tacks, securities, etc., at Loch Kilkerran in Kintyre; but there is no evidence that MacIain presented himself on that occasion, nor is it likely that he could have satisfied the Government by the production of any feudal title to Glencoe. The MacIain charter chest does not appear to have held any parchments in the shape of instruments of tenure early in the seventeenth century." (Clan Donald, II. 198).

The above non-compearance is alluded to by Gregory in his Western Highlands, 306, from which it seems that Lord Scone, Comptroller of Scotland summoned the chiefs; that Kilkerran is now Campbelltown; that they were to find sureties for the payment of the rents of His Majesty, [James I. of England and VI. of Scotland], under penalty of having their deeds declared null and void and themselves "pursuit with fire and sword as rebels to the King" in the event of their failure to appear.

In 1600 John and Alexander Stewart were slain by Glencoe men, and the guilty parties were put to the horn in 1610, at the instance of Elspeth Stewart, relict of John. "During 1610 we are informed that 'Allaster MacIain Oig of Glencoe' . . . seems to have been the last chief's brother, and judging by his designation, to have succeeded him," but he does not appear in the list of chiefs in Vol. III. of Clan Donald. Many hard names are heaped upon Allaster MacIain Oig of Glencoe in connection with the Stewart murders, "and Providence is devoutly thanked for [his falling] into the hands of Colin Campbell of Abermichell." James, Earl of Perth, and Stewart of Stratherne were to bring the malefactor to trial. Commission was also given to a Colquhoun, Maclean and Cameron "to convocate the lieges to apprehend Angus MacIain Duy in Dalness, Allastair MacIain Duy in Achtriachtan, Allan Dow MacIain Duy his brother, and John Og MacIain Duy, [the families of Dalness and Achtriachtan were Cadets of Glencoel, for not having found caution to underly the laws for the slaughter of the late Allaster and John Stewart." In 1611 "Allaster MacEan Oig of Glencoe is still in durance vile in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh" and he "passes out of history and is seen no more." (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 198, 199).

"It is highly improbable that the MacIans refrained from supporting their brethren of Clan Donald in their struggle with the intriguing Argyle, ['Fair and false like a Campbell'],—whose treacherous doings culminated in the fight of 1615."

X. John Abrach or Abroch appears in 1617 as the representative of the family. We do not find any trace of sons of this Chief, except his successor. (*Clan Donald*, II., 199; III. 214).

In 1617 a commission was given to the Sheriffs of seven places, to apprehend and try three "servitors to John Abroch of Glencoe, for not answering to the charge of murdering David Bowman. During this year the feud with the Stewarts resulted in several fatalities, and measures were taken for the apprehension and, trial of John Abroch Macdonald of Glencoe, [apparently the first application in a contemporary document, of the title Macdonald to a Glencoe chief], Donald Bowie MacIain Viclain Oig Viclain Abrich, and a number of other Highlanders. The result of these proceedings does not transpire. (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 200).

"The foregoing monotony of lawlessness gives a black picture of the descendants of John Fraoch, but being drawn from the national record of contemporary misdeeds it could hardly be otherwise. There must have been in the inner life of the Clanian much that was chivalrous and attractive, even in the ruder stages of their history; but the centuries refuse to give up their secrets, and we only see the Glencoe men in their role of Ishmaelites—their hand against every other, and the hands of many others against them." (*Ibid.*, II., 200).

From 1617 to 1634 there is a prolonged pause, during which there is no trace of the men of Glencoe either in war and foray or in the arts of peace, excepting that—

About 1630, as related by Macleay in Rob Roy and his Times, Glencoe, the son-in-law of the chief of the Macgregors, aided the latter in a raid on Kilmarnock on the banks of the Leven.

XI. ALEXANDER, according to the ordinary rules of calculation would have succeeded his father about 1630. He was known in his day as *Alastair Ruadh*. He had two sons—1. Alexander, his successor. 2. Angus, known as Aonghas MacAlastair Ruaidh, the well-known Gaelic bard. (*Clan Donald*, III., 214).

Glencoe was the scene of much disorder at this time. "The Chartulary* says, August 1, 1634, Act in favour of certain Stewarts, That whereas they having raised lettres of lawborris† againis Angus McDonald Veane dowie vealaster in Glenco, John Gaer Meallaster Roy there and aganis a number of otheris disorderit and broken lymmars, some of the Clan Gregours and some other Clanns all for the most part duelling in Glenco, they can get no officer that will or daire repaire to the place where thir people duellis to charge thame." Record of Secret Council Decreta. (History of the Clan Gregor, II., 43).

In 1634 the Glencoe men went as far as Aberdeenshire, being involved in a feud between the Chrichtons and the Gordons. The Lords of Secret Council summoned the Gordons and Clanian to compear personally, to give information and to restrain their people. In January 1635, Allaster MacIain Abraich of Glencoe, evidently the chief of the tribe, appeared to answer for his alleged "misdemeanours. The Glencoe Chief seems to have spent a considerable part of the year of grace 1635 within the precincts of the Scottish capital . . . he has to bind and oblige himself to remain and keep ward in Edinburgh till he found caution conform to the Act of Parliament. It is probable that until the following summer MacIain of Glencoe did not tread his native heath, but had still to submit to the uncongenial atmosphere of 'Auld Reekie,' and it is most likely that the curtailment of the modified liberty he was first allowed was owing to some suspicion that he either tried or purposed to break ward. In any case, . . . he was, with others, committed to ward within the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, till he found security for observing the relevant Acts; the permission to go a Sabbath day's journey

^{*} This consists of extracts from various Records embodying every known authentic passage regarding the Clan Gregor. The title is more correctly the record of the temporalities or property of a monastery, or of the keeper of the record.

[†] Law Borrois, Law Borrows, s. pl. The legal security which one man is obliged to give, that he will not do any injury to another in his person or property. Scottish Acts, James II. Law and borgh, or borrow, a pledge. (Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary).

[‡] This well-known name for Edinburgh (please call it Edinborough), is not from any smokiness, but meaning royal, from righ, a king. (Lansdale's Scotland, Historic and Romantic, I., 1, note).

beyond the city, which he formerly enjoyed, having been withdrawn. As to Allaster's subsequent history we are left in the dark . . . It would not be safe, however, to conclude that there was any sudden conversion from the ancient love of 'creach,' or that their attitude towards neighboring clans had undergone a radical change." (Adapted from Clan Donald, II., 201, 202).

"In 1640 the Clan Iain took part in a foray in which the men of Keppoch were the principals, and which resulted in serious loss to both." Returning from the expedition, they were passing through the Campbell territory without offering to pay toll on their booty: the Campbells attacked them and in the bloody conflict which followed, the Clan Donald were victorious, eighteen of the Campbells being killed. "But the victory was dearly bought by the death of two Clan Donald chiefs." (Abridged from Clan Donald, II., 203).

XII. ALEXANDER, the principal victim of the inhuman slaughter of 1692. He married a daughter of Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch,—a sister of the famous Coll; and had two sons, both of whom escaped from the massacre.—1. John, his successor. 2. Alexander. The second son, Alexander, married in 1696, Florence Macdonald, and died in 1707. (*Ibid.*, III., 214, 643).

Before coming to the following pathetic account in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,—of what appears from our present point of view to have been a foul wrong, we should recollect that manners change with the times. Also that Mistress Elizabeth Ross has given us no inkling of the provocation which the McEans and others had probably received from her people. Furthermore, we have no knowledge of the number of retainers she had in the town and land of Milnecraig belonging to her; they must have been numerous to have needed so many in the attacking force, and the death of the late Donald may have been quite incidental to what was probably a common foray. Lastly, in those good old times, the best chieftain was the most successful cattle-lifter, the best naval commander was the pirate most impartial towards friend and foe, and the best soldier or sailor was the most active pillager.

Supplication of Elspeth Ros. Acts Parl. Scot., A. D. 1641. "My Lordes and remanent estaites of this present parliament now presently convenit wnto yor lo [rdships] humblic menes

and schawes Elspeth Ros relict of vmquhile Donald Roy miller servitor to hew Ros of Tollie" [in brief, as Parliament was sitting for the repressing of all oppressions and injuries, . . . to see Justice administered, and to purge the land of "murdor slachter and Innocent blood" . . . the petitioners are imboldened to show] "That vpoun the nyntene day of Maij last bypast" . . . la number of persons, among whom we regret to find the names of Johne roy meeayne, Jon croy meeayne, Alexander meeayne, mcfinlay vic eavne "fermorer in keatuall," Donald mceayne, hector m^ceavne vic to Alister, Wm. m^ceavne, etc., congregated], "And withothers thr complicis cam efter sune setting to the number of [blank] persounes bodin in hoisteill maner with hagbutes gunes pistolles carabines swordes tairgis bowes dorlaches and other Invasive wapones by all ordor of law or Justice To the toune and landes of Milnecraig pertening to me the sd hew Ros of Tollie gr the sd wmguhile Donald roy miller and otheres of myne the sd hew Ros my servandes war in ane most peceablie maner at my service for the tyme And there maist crewallie and wnmercifullie schot many and divers schottes of gunes hagbutes pistoilles carabines and arowes at the sd wmquhile Donald roy miller and wounded him in diverse pairtis of his bodie And not being content therewith strak at him with diverse naked swords till at last he fell doune deid to the grund And Imediatelie therefter he depairtit this mortall lyff . . . And the puire relict and hir sex Infantes and fatherles orphanes wanting means defraudit of the benefeit of law competent to ws Heirfor we beseik your lo[rdships] . . . To gif and appoint sik ordor and warrand as salbe thocht most fitting" [in short, that no remission or respite be granted the aforenamed persons for the said slaughter till the law should take its course against them or the petitioners be satisfied; and that any respite privately procured be declared null].

In the above case the Estates of Parliament order the Deputy Treasurer and Lords of the Exchequer to pass no remission in favor of the parties named, until the petitioner be first called and heard; and the Clerk was to give the "dowble heirof" to the petitioner.

The next mention of the McEans, in Vol. V., Caroli I., A. D. 1641, would seem at first sight, to hint strongly of retaliation, if not justice; as it speaks of the repression of the Clan, and

(seeing the order of the documents), apparently in consequence of the fray at Milnecraig; but if we are to judge from the date 1636 in the instrument, the "repression" preceded the skirmish, and may have been, in part, the provocation to the Clan, for which we otherwise look in vain. A few extracts follow:

"RATIFICATION to Archebald Lord Lorne of the lordschip of Kintyre, etc. OURE SOVERANE LORD with advvise and consent of the estaites of this present parliament Ratefies and approves the contract past betuixt his sacred majestie with consent of his hienes [s's] heigh thesaurer and Remanent Lordis of his majesties exchekker of this kingdome his hienes commissionares On the ane pairt And wmquhvill Archibald earle of argyle Lord Campbell and Lorne for himselff . . . The yeir of god Imvic. [one thousand six hundred] and threttie sex veires . . . Ouhairby and in respect of the bygane services of the said wmquhyill earle of argyle in Repressing of the barbarous races of the Clangregor and clandonald And of the services of Archibald now earle of argyle father to the said Archibald now Lord of Lorne In repressing of the clan of Mean and apprehending of that notable sorner called Gilroy and of the other onerous and weightie causses particularlie mentionat in the said contract His majestie with consent forsaid Ratefiet the former Infestmentis grantit be his majesties wmquhvill deirest father of blissed memorie or his majesties selff" [and so on and so forth through two folio columns bristling with "And quhilk," "IN ALL," "And Sicklyke," "And Farder, fforsamekill," "With the priviledge" and "THAIRFORE;" but containing nothing more about the McEans]. There is much fighting indicated however, in the word "repressing."

"In the political turmoil of the seventeenth century, the Clanian, like the rest of the Clan Donald, supported the claims of the House of Stewart. There is distinct evidence that they took their own share of the toils and glories of the campaigns of Montrose". . . It is shown that the Glencoe men were in a party to relieve the castles of Mingarry and Lochaline in Ardnamurchan. A Council was held at Blair-Athole about 1644 to consult . . . about winter quarters, and Colkitto joined with recruits from Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Glencoe, Appin, the Camerons and Farquharsons. "The Council declared for the Highlands as being most secure. Montrose gave in to the ma-

jority, on the assurance being given that food and quarters could . . . be provided. 'But how shall we find a track?' asked Montrose, 'or how obtain subsistence at this season?' Angus the son of Allan Dubh, who appears to have been the leader of the Glencoe men," offered himself as a guide after Argyle was accustomed to say that he would not let any one know the passes into his country from the east for 100,000 crowns; Allan . . . was also prominent upon the question of commissariat . . . and said he knew the stanch houses and could procure fat cattle in the Campbell country of Argyle, and this assurance "turned the scale in favour of wintering in the Highlands." (Adapted from Clan Donald, II., 203, 204; and Taylor's Pictorial History of Scotland, II., 622).

The Calendar of State Papers notes that in 1644 Alaster Mac-Donell was a comrade of the Earl of Montrose: at first glance this might seem to refer to Alexander or Alastair of Glencoe, but it is improbable; the first reference in the Calendar states that the Earl "with a famous fellow called Kittock" are taken prisoners by the Earl of Argyle; the next is that the enemy was routed, Montrose missing and his comrade Kitto slain. But this may have been a mistake, for in 1652 a certain Col. Alex. Macdonall, possibly the same, was made a close prisoner, special care was to be taken of him and 2s a day allowed him, etc.

We read in the *Encyc. Brit.*, article *Scotland*, that about 1645 "Montrose erected the royal standard [of Charles I.] in Dumfries; then passing to the Highlands, after the victory of Tippermuir he took Perth, and defeated Lord Lewis Gordon at the Bridge of Dee. Next, after ravaging the county of Argyll, he marched to Inverness, but returned to defeat Argyll at Inverlochy, won further victories at Auldearn near Nairn and Alford on the Don, and by that of Kilsyth appeared to have recovered Scotland for Charles." We quote these names partly because Glencoe served under Montrose in his wars and fought with particular valor at the battle of Inverlochy, according to Grant's *Tartans of the Clans of Scotland*.

The MacIans took part in the celebrated raid of the Campbell country as noted in Browne's *Highlanders and Clans*, I., 362, and the *Stewarts of Appin*, 185.

And they were in the centre of the front line in the battle of Inverlochy, fought Sunday, February 2nd, 1645. (Keltie's

Highland Clans, I., 198). It was after this battle that Ranald of the Shield, afterwards killed in the Glencoe Massacre, won his sobriquet by fighting with dirk and target against a braggart English dragoon. This incident has been given with much vigor and eloquent detail in Clan Donald, II., 204–206, the hero being Ranald Macdonald, (son of Allan of Achtriachtan), and who remarked among other things in Gaelic: "There is no knowing what may happen to me, but the very devil will happen to him." As Ranald fought at Worcester in 1651, it is probable the Clan formed part of the Highland forces which defended that place against ten times their number, until King Charles [II.] himself ordered them to retreat.

We had hoped to show that the spirited military march called "Blue Bonnets over the Border" was written by Sir Walter Scott in commemoration of this invasion of England by the Highlanders, but it evidently celebrated a period a few years before, when General Alexander Leslie advanced toward Long Marston Moor; and the names are decidedly of the Lowlands. Perhaps the most stirring version is the one beginning:

March, march, Ettrick and Teviotdale, Why the de'il dinna ye march forward in order? March, march, Eskdale and Liddeedale, All the Blue Bonnets are over the Border."...

We read that about 1651 some plaids were known, and as we have mention of them in Section IV. about this date, we introduce the subject.

PLAIDS AND TARTANS.—It is well known that each Clan had its distinguishing plaid and tartan, (the difference is said to be in the texture of the goods, the former being much the thicker of the two). They were originally worn only in the Highlands, and "some were known in 1651," [we have just seen that plaiding was known in 1649*]; their use was forbidden in 1747,† but

^{*} Frank Adam quotes several items from official documents, showing that "tartanes" were mentioned as far back as 1471, in the accounts of the royal household. Among other quaint entries are found: "Four elne and ane halve of tartane for a sparwort aboune his credill, [canopy above his cradle?], foprice ane elne, 10s."; also "Heland sarkis to the Kingis grace . . . r twa unce of silk to sew thame . . . for iiij elnis of ribanis to the handes of them . . ."

[†] The following "Indemnity Oath," which may be found in the Encyclo-

the Act was repealed in 1782. There were two principal marks of distinction,—the green (or uaine) and the red (or dearg) field; a very few had yellow for the ground or conspicuous color, and one or two were chiefly white, grey, blue or black. Upon the various fields, generally green or red, the arrangement of bars and threads of differing colors in various widths, formed the clan plaid. And so the proverb said: "Kyth i' your ain colours, that fowk may ken you."

These fabrics are still made in favorite patterns which are often called for, but there being little or no demand for some, like that of the MacIans or McKeans, those have to be made to order. We have the pleasure of presenting a sample of the Mackeane arrangement, made by White of Edinburgh, and said to be set forth in Old and Rare Scottish Tartans, by Donald William Stewart, Edinburgh, George P. Johnston, 1893. "Sir Richard Urquhart, Knycht, author of 'Vestiarum Scotiorum,' " says: "Mackeane hethe four stryppes of Blak upon ain scarlett feilde, and upon the scarlett set ain spraig (sprainge) of yellow of saxteen threidis, havand thereto ain bordure of Blak of twa threidis." This seems conclusive of the color of the field, though MacIan's "Clans of the Scottish Highlanders indicates the Glencoe as one of the green plaids. W. and A. K. Johnston's Scottish Clans and Tartans gives the MacDonald in general, and those of Clanranald and of Glengarry with green or blue predominating, and those of the Isles and Slate and of Staffa with red.*

pædia Britannica and in What is my Tartan? was extorted from the Highlanders, to guard against evasion of the Act: "I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property,—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations,—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the grave of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath." Among other indignant protests called forth by the oath was a poetical one mentioned by Frank Adam and entitled, "The Anathema of the Breeks." The Act was repealed in 1782, but even in 1809, one of the Scottish regiments was ordered to discontinue their Highland dress, as it was "objectionable to the people of Britain!" (Adapted from What is my Tartan?).

*Samples furnished by Simpson, Hunter and Young, of Glasgow, indicate that the—



THE MACKEANE TARTAN



The documents just quoted mention prices varying from 4s. 4d. to 12s. ['old style"] per ell (the Scotch ell used to be 37.2 inches): the price in Glasgow, in 1901, of any pattern appeared to be 6s. per yard, 54 inches wide,—customs dues, ocean freight, domestic expressage, etc., not included, but possibly increasing the cost from 40 to 50 per cent. Any small quantity can probably be supplied, but in the case of rare patterns being ordered to be manufactured, perhaps a piece 25 yards long and 21 inches wide would have to be taken at the least.

Lord Archibald Campbell's *Records of Argyll*, 428, referring to "The search in Glencoe for mention or tradition anent distinctive clan tartan or clan colours," gives the following

"Letter from S. MacGregor to 'D.' Glencoe 20th Feb., 1883.

My dear Sir, As to the wider question as to the existence of tartans generally at and previous to the time of the Massacre of Glencoe, we think that there can be no reasonable doubt. Upon this subject tradition is full and undivided. An old woman in the Glen (Mrs. MacIntyre), a descendant of MacEunruig or Henderson, MacIan's family piper (MacEunruig Mòr)—tells me that when a little girl she heard her grandmother, then a very old woman, say that all her ancestors wore tartan and nothing else."

James Logan in *The Scottish Gaël*, 159, quotes from Heron that before the middle of the fifteenth century, tartan was manufactured of one or two colors for the poor; but gives intimations on p. 156 that tartans existed in Britain long prior to the commencement of our credible history, and that Abaris the high priest of the Hyperborei wore a robe which seems to be a Scottish plaid.

Resuming historical notes proper:-

In the General Index to the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, we read for 1655: "Glencoe with adjacent districts to form a

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MacDonalds of Clan Ranald | had a plaid with dark blue or green field, with red and white bars and threads. | had a plaid with dark blue or green field, with red bars and threads. | Staffa, said to include Glencoe | Sleat and | Lords of the Isles | had a plaid with dark red field, with black, and dark blue threads.
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new county;" and there is a similar entry about Glengarry, but the detailed reference appears to be missing.

Raids and feuds continue to occupy the attention of the subjects of these Notes at this period of their history.

It was apparently in September, 1665, that some MacIans of Glencoe, and MacGregors, joined the Camerons against the Mackintoshes, about lands in Lochaber; three hundred of the men had bows, and it is stated that these were the last considerable company of bowmen that appeared in the Highlands. [But we will meet with them again]. Soon after, the Camerons being joined by the MacDonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, Glencoe and others, marched into Mull, and prevented an intended invasion by Argyll. (History of the Camerons, 162, 163). At this time also, [see 1685] another fight took place between Glencoe and some Breadalbane men at Killin. (Records of Argyll, 477).

And in June, 1671, the MacGregors, joined by the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch, entered Menzies' lands, drove out his tenants and performed warlike acts. "In consequence of which they were on August I denounced rebels for not having compeared before the Lords of Council on July 27, to answer for their assistants and complices entering the lands of Rannoch and by force and violence taking possession of a part of the said Sir Alexander Menzies his lands and maintaining of the same by force of arms, and committing divers other outrages," etc. (Clan Gregor, II., 155).

Sir James Macdonald of Sleat having laid claim to be chief of the whole clan, he was held responsible for their good behavior in the Isles and on the Mainland. In 1674 it was represented to the Privy Council "that Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe who had been committed prisoner within the Tolbooth of Inveraray by order of the Earl of Argyle, had succeeded in effecting his escape" . . . his misdeeds are not specified. But "since his escape he was accused, with John Macdonald of Achtriachatan, and their accomplices, of having committed "several murders and depredations" in the County of Argyle." Sir James was required "to assist in apprehending his clansmen, but nothing further is heard of them in this connection. (Clan Donald, III., 67, 68). A similar claim of precedence over "their haill kyn of Clan Donald" had been made before, by certain Macdonalds of Dunnyveg. (Ibid., 167).

The clan entered the government service as part of the Highland host brought down to curb the Covenanters in that bloodless but devastating foray. "It may be explained that the 'Highland host,' about 8,000 men, with headquarters at Stirling, remained in the Lowlands some eight months. It overawed the whigs so that the latter did not attempt to oppose the government during the stay of these highlanders." (Keltie's Highland Clans, I., 335). A letter in Woodrow's MSS., Advocates' Library, dated Feb. 1, 1678, says that among other clans of the Highland host brought down to curb the Covenanters, "the Glencow men were verie remarkable, who had for their ensign a faire bush of heath, wel spread and displayed on the head of a staff, such as might have affrighted a Roman eagle." The letter is published entire in Blackwood's Magazine, April, 1817, p. 68. It is also related, in one of the manuscripts of later date (?) that four amber beads now in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh, and worn by a lady of the clan on the morning of the massacre, were esteemed as a cure for blindness. The above letter is mentioned here chronologically, though the Covenants appear to have been suppressed before, and declared illegal in 1661.

Probably towards the end of the reign of Charles II. the Clan incurred the enmity of Breadalbane, (who had been recently [Aug. 13, 1681] created an earl), and thus engendered a feeling of hatred which vented itself in the Glencoe massacre. On their return from a foray into the Lowlands, they attempted to cross the lands of Breadalbane without asking permission, and the Campbells sallied out in hot pursuit. They overtook the Macdonalds near Killin, where the raiders took up their position on some rising ground . . . and awaited the onset. They received their assailants with swarms of arrows and repulsed them, killing nineteen of the Campbells, and wounding among others Colonel Menzies, who had urged in vain that the fiery young Campbells should make a flank attack on their enemies. (Abridged from Stewart's Highlanders and Highland Regiments).

In 1687 the Glencoe men took part in what it is a relief to know was the last great clan battle of Scottish history,—Mullroy or Glenroy. Mackintosh of Moy held a crown grant of certain lands, which Keppoch was in actual possession of, and when the latter was challenged to produce his title deeds he replied that he held his lands not by a sheep's skin but by the sword.

(Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LVI.). Aided by an independent company of government troops commanded by Captain Mackenzie of Suddie, Mackintosh with his clan marched on Keppoch, and finding the chief's house deserted he set a large force of workmen brought for the purpose, to build a fort near by. The work was interrupted by news that the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Glengarry and Glencoe were behind a neighboring ridge intending to surprise Mackintosh at daybreak. The latter determined to anticipate them and marched his men before dawn, but the Macdonalds under Coll of Keppoch . . . appeared upon the upper ridge while the Mackintoshes and their government allies were scaling the heights of Mullrov. With bows and arrows, broadswords and Lochaber axes the Macdonalds attacked Moy so fiercely that they routed his men, killing Suddie and taking Mackintosh himself prisoner. While the Macdonalds were scattered in pursuit of the vanguished enemy, the Macphersons appeared, and sending a flag of truce demanded thsa Mov be surrendered to them. Mackintosh claimed to be head of the confederation Clan Chattan of which the Macphersont were members, and Keppoch realizing that in the disorganized state of his forces resistance was useless, handed Mackintosh over to the despised Macphersons. This was galling to the pride of the haughty chieftain, but the good-natured Macphersons set him free instead of taking him to their chief at Cluny. From the Macdonalds gaining the higher ground at the outset of the battle arose the words: "Macdonald took the brae on them." in a 'Salute' ever after used by the pipers of the Keppoch Macdonalds. Coll besieged Inverness, exacted a fine from it and compelled its people to ground arms to the MacDonald tartan as a punishment for aiding Mackintosh. This resistance to royal troops and the killing of their captain caused letters of fire and sword to be issued against Coll Macdonald of Keppoch. and soldiers were sent with orders to destroy man, woman and child, and lay waste Keppoch's estates. He escaped and a kinsman purchased his immunity from further punishment by paying a large crick or fine. (Abridged from Skene's History of the Highlands).

We have thought that the accompanying signatures, selected from a couple of pages of them in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,—would prove of interest to our readers. There is

little to be explained about them: John Graham of Claverhouse, the "Bonnie Dundee," was the head and front of the rebellion in which several Macdonalds, McKeans and others joined,—as will be set forth presently: Argyle and Dalrymple were their inveterate enemies; the blot on the name of the former is literal as well as figurative, and the latter exhorted the executioners of Glencoe "to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst in all the Highlands," and that they need not trouble the Government with prisoners.

Signatures from the sets of the Parliaments of Scotland.

Dur Tie
John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount, 1689.
"Bonnie Dunder"

Archibald Campbell Fook of Argyle. Lord Lorne. 1689

* Jo Dabymple Marter of Stair, 1689. Afterwards Earl of Stair.

Early in 1689, as we gather from MacKenzie's History of the Camerons, 183, etc., MacDonald of Keppoch, with eight hundred men, was to have conveyed Viscount Dundee to Lochaber, the place fixed upon for the mustering of the adherents of King James; but Keppoch laid siege to Inverness, arrested the magnates there and insisted upon their paying a heavy ransom; and Dundee having rebuked Keppoch, the latter retired to his own country instead of conducting the Viscount. At Lochaber the first person who met Dundee was Glengarry with two or three hundred men. He was followed by MacDonald of Morar at the

head of about two hundred members of Clan Ranald; also by Appin and Glencoe with about the same number. A letter dated June 23, 1689, written by Dundee to Macleod of Macleod, shows how much dependence he placed on the Highland chieftains, among whom he names Glencoe.

The letter is given in Browne's History of the Highlanders and Clans, II., 146, and the following are extracts:

"Moy June 23, 1689.

. . . Captain of Glenrannald is near us these several dayes . . . Apen Glenco Lochell Glengaire Keppoch are all raidy."

Towards the middle of the year, according to MacKenzie, Dundee and his army being in Lochaber, Macdonald of the Isles joined him with about seven hundred men, but it was concluded to adhere to the Highland tactics and not to drill the force.

"An interesting word picture of several Highland chiefs is given in a Latin poem composed by Dundee's standard-bearer, and the portrait of the Chief of Glencoe before Killiecrankie may be accepted as substantially correct, though somewhat hyperbolical in colouring. 'Next came Glencoe, terrible in unwonted arms, covered as to his breast with new hide, and towering above his whole line by head and shoulders. A hundred men all of gigantic mould, all mighty in strength, accompany him as he goes to the war. He himself turning his shield in his hand, flourishing terribly his sword, fierce in aspect, rolling his wild eyes, the horns of his twisted beard curled backward, seems to breathe forth [?] wherever he moves." (Clan Donald, II., 206, 207, quoting from The Grameid, an Heroic poem descriptive of the Campaign of Graham, Viscount Dundee in 1689, by James Philip of Almerieclose, 1691).

The battle of Killiecrankie was fought on the 27th of July, 1689, an English force of 3,500 men and two troops of horse having arrived at the pass on their march northward; Dundee had with him about 1,800 Highlanders and 300 Irishmen. The reinforcements sent for from various places, Ardnamurchan included, not having joined the Jacobites because the day of rendezvous had not arrived, the question with the latter was whether to wait for assistance or attack at once. Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry and Sir Ewen Cameron spoke so decidedly in favor of fighting immediately, that Dundee concluded to do so, though at first the council were disposed to stand on the

defensive. The Macdonalds of Clanranald and Glengarry were with the right; Sir Donald Macdonald and the Islesmen were on the extreme left, with the Camerons, according to *Mackenzie*, who sums up the account of the engagement thus: "The Highlanders, though they had to mourn the loss of about a third of their men, secured a complete victory, and few of the enemy escaped; but having lost their brilliant commander, [Dundee, "Greatest of Scots and last"], the result was dearly bought, and the war may be said to have ended—before it was well commenced—by a Highland victory, perhaps the most brilliant on record." *History of the Camerons*, 196.

Taylor's Pictorial History of Scotland states (II., 786, 787), that Dundee's men fought in their shirt-sleeves at Killiecrankie, and that the Clans formed separate battalions and charged the English lines in column. "When the English troops fired their last shots on the advancing Highlanders the latter rushed in with their double-edged broadswords before the royal troops could screw their bayonets to the end of their muskets. This experience led their general, Mackay, to invent the present plan of fastening the bayonet to the outside of the muzzle."

A Latin poem written towards the end of the eighteenth century by Professor Kennedy of Aberdeen, and entitled "Proelium Gillecrankianum," says in part:

"Macneillus de Bara, Glencono, Keppochanus, Ballechinus cum fratre Stewartus Apianus, Pro Jacobo Septimo fortiter gessere, Pugilis fortissimi feliciter vincere."

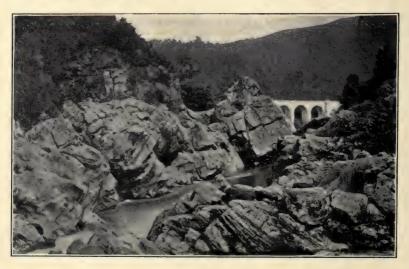
"The MacIan of Glencoe of this period was, according to contemporary testimony, a person of 'great integrity, honour, good nature and courage." His loyalty to King James was such that he continued in arms from Dundee's first appearance in the Highlands till the fatal treaty that brought about his ruin." (Grant's Tartans of the Clans of Scotland).

Glencoe was not only engaged in the battle of Killiecrankie, but also took part in the campaign which followed under General Buchan. (Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, Chap. LVIII.).

In Vol. IX. of the Acts Parl. Scot., we come to official documents bearing upon the troublous times alluded to, and it is somewhat difficult to reconcile dates and facts. Some quotations



PRESUMING THAT OUR READERS WOULD BE PLEASED TO SEE SOME VIEWS OF THE PASS, WE HAVE SELECTED TWO CONTRASTING ONES OUT OF SEVERAL.



may be necessary from the Appendix first, and afterwards from the body of the work. Among the "Proceedings in the Parliament of King William and Queen Mary holden and begun at Edinburgh April XV, M.DC.XC.," are many documents of various lengths. We will quote one of the Bonds of Association entered into by the Highland Clans after the Defeat of their party at Dunkeld, and later give extracts from the decree of forfeiture against the Viscount of Dundee and others for high treason, as both of these instruments include the McKean-McDonald of Glencoe in more or less good company with many others.

"BOND of Association

WEE Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechan Sr John McLean, Sr Donald McDonald, Sr Ewan Cameron, Glengarie, Bembecula, S^r Alex^r McLean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochell, L. Coll: McGreger, Bara, Large, McNaughton, doe herby bind and oblidge our selves for his Majesties* service, and our oun safties to Meit att day of the September next and to bring along with us of fencible men,† that is to say L, James Murray and Ballechan Sr John McLean 200, Sr Donald McDonald 200, Sr Alex^r McLean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, L, Coll: McGregore 100, Calochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, McNawghton 50, Large 50, Bot in caice any of the rebells shall assault or Attaque any of the above named persons betwixt the date hereof and the aforsaid day of rendevouze, wee do all solemnlie promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power as witness thir presents signed by us att the Castle of Blair the 24 of August 1689 years

Tho Farq ^r sone	D Mackdonald	Alr Robertsone
Jo MacLeane	D M D of Benbecula	D McNeill
E Cameron of Locheill	Al McDonald	Alex ^r McDonald
Al Stewart	- 1	Do McGregor
		Alex [†] M Donell

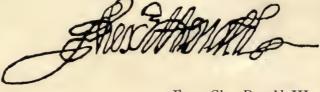
^{*} That is, for "James VII.," not William III.

[†] Men capable of bearing arms.

[Endorsed?] 13 June 1690

Produced by His Majesties Advocate

Signature of Alex^r. Macdonald of Glencoe.



From Clan Donald, III.

The importance of the following documents may excuse long quotations from them.

"Decreet of Forfeiture against John Viscount of Dundee & others.

AT EDINBURGH the ffourteenth day of July one thousand sex hundreth & nynty years Anent the lybelled Summonds and Indytement for high treasone raised and persewed befor the King and Queens Majesties and the Estates of Parliament written in Latine and expede under the hand of the deput[y] of the directors of Chancellary keeper of the Quarter Seall conforme to ane warrand and act of Parliament after mentioned At the instance of Sir John Dalrymple younger of Stair their Ma^{ties} advocat for their highnes Intrest in the matter under wrytten Against John Viscount of Dundee, James Earle of Dumfermling

Viscount of ffrendraught Lord Dunkeld, Major William Grahame of Balwhaple, Collonell Alexander Cannan, John Cleiland of Fasken Mr Colin McKenzie uncle to the Earle of Seaforth, Sir John Drummond of Machany, William Crawford younger of Ardmillan James Crawfurd his brother,

Robertson of Strowan, David Grahame brother to the deceist John Viscount of Dundee for himselfe and as representing the said Viscount Halyburton of Pitcurr and Halyburton as air to the said deceist Halyburton of Pitcurr his father James Edmonstoun of Newtoun of Doune, Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochyeell Cameron his eldest sone, Donald Mcdonald younger of Sclaite, the Laird of Mcnaughton,

Grant of Ballindalloch Stewart of Appin,

Mckean alias Mcdonald elder of Glencoe, Alexander Mcdonald younger of Glengary Donald Meneill of Gallahellie and Sir John Melean of Dowart and diverse others their associats and accomplices. The authentick Copie whereof in English produced in manner after specified maketh mentione That where the Crymes of rebellione and treasone, ryseing and continowing in in armes against their Majesties and their highnesses authority & government and the assaulting of their Majesties forces. The garisoneing of houses and strengths, The harbouring corresponding and associateing with open rebells and traitours. The falling upon, woundeing or robbeing their Maties forces in their retreate. are high Crymes punishable with forfeiture of lyfe, lands and goods, And by the third act first Parliament King James the First It is statute and ordained that no man nottourly rebell against the Kings persone under the pain of forfaulting of life lands and goods And by the thretty seventh act of his second Parliament it is statute that nae man wilfully resett entertaine or doe favours to open and manifest rebells And by the fourteenth & fyfteenth acts Parliament sexth of King James the second and Parliament tuelth King James the sexth Caput one hundred and fourty sex the ryseing in fear of weare or supplying the rebells in help, red or councill or the stuffeing of houses for the furthering of the Kings rebells are crymes for which the persones are punishable as traitours against whom not only forfaultures are allowed to proceed in absence by the eleventh act of the first session second Parliament of King Charles the Second but also by the sexty nynth act, Parliament sexth King James the fyfth the summonds of treasone may be persewed against the air for the treason committed by his predecessor Nevertheles it is of verity that the deceist John Viscount of Dundee and" [here follows the full list of names already given] "haveing shaken off all fear of God and regaird to their Maties and their Laws and love to their native Countrey they did ryse and continow in open armes . . . the first, second, thrid or ane or other of the dayes of the moneth of Aprill Imvic eightv nyne years or ane or other of the dayes of the moneth of May thereafter the said year And upon . . . the said moneth and year of God forsaid the said deceist John Viscount of Dundee and the other persons amentioned did come to the toune of Perth

in fear of wear and therein in ane hostile manner did seize and carry away the deceist Laird of Blair and other officers of their Majesties forces . . . And upon the day of June . . . did attack a certain number of their Majesties forces . . . As also . . . having raised & assembled severall thousands of rebells and Highland robbers, they had the boldnes to march throw the Countrey oppressing and destroying their Majesties good and loyall subjects and to oppose their forces . . . and . . . did in a plain battle attack their Majesties Armie, betwixt the Blair of Athole and the pass of Gilliechrankie and did kill and wound severall of their Majesties forces and good subjects And thereafter . . . did attack their Maiesties forces at Dunkeld . . . And haveing mett and assembled at Inverlochie . . . they entred into treasonable Conspiracies bonds and associaens for furnishing of certain numbers and proportions of armed men for the maintenance and support of the rebellion . . . and the other crymes above mentioned were committed by the persones above named and ilkane of them . . . Of the which horrid and treasonable crymes above specified or ane or other of them the haill fornamed persons and ilk ane of them are actors airt & pairt . . . And therfore the saids haill defenders compeared befor their Majesties above named to have and the three estates of Parliament within the Parliament hous of Edr at ane certain day bygone to have heard & seen sentence and decreit given and pronounced against them . . . with the usuall solemnities necessar upon tuenty fyve dayes warning at the mercat cross of the head burgh of the shyre where the fornamed persones live . . . and accordingly all the persons against whom the lybell or Indytement of high treasone is raised were thryce publickly called by macers at the barr & at the great door of the house and none of them compearing the said Sir John Dalrymple their Maties advocat . . . did produce ane executione of the said summonds . . . bearing that the said George Ogilvy Albany herauld at command of the saids Letters of treasone . . . and by vertew thereof with one of their Maties trumpeters & witnesses thereunto subscryveing past upon" [certain days and at market crosses specified] "with their coats of arms displayed, sound of trumpet and other solemnities requisite and necessar open proclamation and publict reading of the said sumonds of treasone he lawfully charged

the haill persones above and after mentioned viz" [a recapitulation of the names] . . . "to have compeared . . . and that he made certification and affixt & left authentick doubles . . . Together with another executione under the hand of William Glover Rothesay herauld bearing that upon" [certain days and at other market crosses named, hel "summoned warned and charged ilk ane of the fornamed persones above named and others . . . be sound of trumpet three severall tymes with displayed coatt be open proclamatione & publict reading . . . to compeir befor their Majesties high Court of Parliament . . . and after publict reading of the said lybell of treason in Scots . . . the same" [persons already named] ". . . being oft & diverse tymes called by macers in the Parliament house and at the great door which was cast open as use is and not compearand . . . And sicklyke their Majesties Advocat produced the writs after mentioned viz. Ane Bond of Association entered into by . . . and other highlanders wherby they bind and obleidge themselves for his Majestie (the late King James) service . . . to meet . . . and to bring alongst with them . . . fencible men . . . as they pretend in testimonie of their loyalty to their Sacred & Dread Soveraign . . . they vow and protest befor the Almighty God and on their Salvation at the Great Day to goe on secretly and with all the power and strength they have to stick and byde by one another, . . . So help them God; As also produced ane letter wryten by the said Sir Ewan Cameron . . . and others of the highland Clans direct to Major Generall Mckay . . . in answer to his . . . and that he might know the sentiments of men of honour they declare to him & all the world they scorne his usurper and the indemnities of his Government and to save his further trouble by his frequent invitations they assure him that they are satisfied their King [James will] take his oun tyme & way to manadge his dominions & punish his rebells And albeit he should send no assistance to them at all they will all dye with their Swords in their hands befor they faill in their loyalty and swore alleadgeance to ther Soveraign . . . and that those of them who live in Islands have already seen and defyed the Prince of Orange his friggotts and that they had returned Duke Hamilton's letter becaus he had more use for it then they. And after production and reading of the said tuo bonds of associatione . . . By

which bonds they obleidge themselves to stick to one another in his Maties service, which by the place and persons appears to be the late King James . . . And farder . . . deponed in the said matter of treasone as to the poynts admitted to the Lord Advocat his probation in manner forsaid viz. against [all the names and titles are here repeated] . . . that the fornamed persons were actually in armes against their Majesties . . . And haveing also considered the bonds of association and missive letter above mentioned produced by the Lord Advocat which he declared he made use of for adminiculating of the probation against the said [the names appear again] . . . And likeways their Majesties and the Estates of Parliament by the mouth of the said John Ritchie Dempster of Parliament decern and adjudge the said sabove list of names excepting John, Viscount Dundee, who was already dead] to be execute to the death, demained as traitours and to underly the pains of treasone when ever they shall be apprehendit and that at such tymes and places & in such manner as their Majesties or the Estates of Parliament or the Commissioners of Justiciary shall appoynt, And ordains the saids persons, their name, fame, memory & honours to be extinct, their blood to be tainted and their armes to be riven furth & delett out of the books of armes so that their posterity may never have place nor be able hereafter to brook or joyse any honours offices, titles or dignities in tyme comeing And the saids persons imediatly above named to have forfaulted amitted and tint all and sundry their lands heretadges tacks steeding roums possessions goods and gear moveable and immoveable whatsomever pertaining to them to belong to their Majesties and to remain perpetually with them and their successors in property, which was pronounced for doom, And wherupon their Majesties Advocat asked and took instruments.

THE fourteenth day of July 1690

The depositions of the witnesses concerning .

Stewart of Appin Macean alias Macdonald elder of Glenco Alex^r Macdonald younger of Glengarie Macneill of Gallochellie and Sir John Macleane of Dowart The lybell was found proven against all the saids persones The Estates having past a severall vote upon advysing of the probation as to ilk one of them . . .

. . the sentences being reade The same were putt to the

vote and Approven And therafter the persones whose names are contained in the sentences being called by Macers at the barre and at the great doore of the Parliament House After sound of trumpet the Heraulds being present with their Coates of Armes displayed The two sentences of forfaulture were pronounced with the vsuall solemnities And therafter the Coates of Armes of the persones forfaulted were reversed & torne by the Lyon deputt and his brethren Heraulds in presence of their Majesties Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament And therafter the Heraulds with the trumpeters went to the Market Croce of Edinburgh to perfect the formalitie with the vsuall solemnities."

The narrative of the Massacre of Glencoe has been written "in eloquent prose, impassioned verse" and in official reports. Those who want a brilliant perversion, will find it in Macaulay's "History;" others who may prefer an apparently just account will get one in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 86, July, 1859. As might be expected, the well-equipped authors of Clan Donald go into full, and, all things considered, not too bitter detail: their description, with that of the circumstances leading up to it, being rather long, however, we will take the liberty of curtailing it somewhat.

"On a Deposition by certain witnesses taken at Edinburgh in May, 1690, MacIain's active support of the Jacobite movement had been proved, and in September, a Commission was given by the Privy Council to the Earl of Argyll to pass with competent force to the lands of Glencoe and other rebels, and reduce them to obedience. The reduction of the Highlands to acceptance of the Government of William and Mary, was to be the head and front of the new policy in Scotland.

"Circumstances were leading up to the terrible episode which has left so dark a stain upon the British history of the age. The deposed dynasty were guilty of political errors, but never schemed a conspiracy so barbarous as that now to be enacted for the pacification of the Highlands, by a Government professing the principles of popular rights and liberties.

"In the summer of 1691, the Government took steps for the settlement of the Highlands. They appointed the Marquis [Earl?] of Breadalbane to the task of pacification and gave him £12,000 to be applied to this end. No one less suited than he could have been selected. It was hinted that a much smaller

part of the fund went to the Clans than that which recompensed his own dubious services. Besides which, he was at feud with some of those he was appointed to pacify. He inaugurated his mission of peace by fastening a quarrel on MacIain of Glencoe about cows said to have been stolen by his clansmen, and threatening him with vengeance. The peace of the Highlands was undoubtedly sacrificed for the sake of Breadalbane's cows. retained Glencoe's share of the Government fund in name of payment for past depredations, and Glencoe exercised his influence with the other chiefs, to refuse or delay allegiance. The Government, under the circumstances, seemed reasonable and politic: a Proclamation recommended the Clans to submit to the authority of William and Mary, offering pardon to all who promised to live peacefully under their rule, if the submission was made on or before the 31st December, 1691, but all those who held out after that date were to be regarded as enemies and traitors.

"Yet behind the policy avowed there lurked the dark designs of the Master of Stair and of Breadalbane; and the former intended a crime exceeding that which was committed: the clans of Keppoch, Glengarry and Lochiel were to be exterminated, as well as that of Glencoe. His orders to the commander of the forces were: 'Your troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners.'*

"The other chiefs submitted in time, but MacIain's delay proved fatal. Possibly he hoped for a fresh rally of the Jacobite cause, and this failing, he only allowed himself sufficient time to appear before Colonel Hill, the Governor at Fort William, before the expiration of the last day granted.

"Arriving there, he found to his alarm and mortification that the Colonel, not having a magistrate's commission, could not receive the oath of allegiance; but he hastened him to Inveraray with a letter to the Sheriff there to receive MacIain as a 'lost sheep.' He went past his home without stopping, through

^{*} Dalrymple's instructions were said to have been written on the back of a playing card, the nine of diamonds, known as "The curse of Scotland." Of the five reasons for this title, given in Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, none seems convincing.

snow and tempest to meet further delays, being detained by Captain Drummond, of whom more hereafter. He was three days at Inveraray before Sir Colin Campbell, detained by stress of weather could come to town. After some hesitation, the oath was administered, though six days after the statutory time, and MacIain, hoping all his difficulties were surmounted, retired to his Glen. He called his people together, told them he had taken the oath of allegiance and made his peace with the Government, and charged them to be loyal to the new order of things.

"The certificate was sent to Edinburgh written upon the same page as several others bearing upon quondam Jacobite rebels, and ought, like the rest, to have been submitted to the Privy Council, but there were influences at work, taking advantage of the fact that, despite MacIain's submission, he was technically a rebel; the favorable circumstances were to be left out of account. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Clerk to the Council, refused to take Glencoe's certificate on account of its irregularity as to time, and some Privy Councillors opined that it could not be received without a warrant from the King. So Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll erased the certificate and its submission to the Council Board was prevented.

"On the 11th January, 1692, the instructions were signed by King William, by which the massacre was to be carried out. Drawn up by the Scottish Secretary, Sir John Dalrymple, they showed how necessary for the perpetration of the outrage was the suppression of the certificate of the submission. The instructions distinctly empower the authorities to receive on mercy. even at that late date, those who were willing to take the oath of allegiance: MacIain's case was therefore clearly covered by this last Proclamation—'That chieftains and heritors or leaders . . . taking the oaths . . . are to have quarters and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers . . .' Hence the grave significance of the last paragraph of the instructions:- 'If MacEan of Glencoe and that trybe can be well separated from the rest it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves.' This had been effected by the suppression of the certificate.

"William's action has been defended and attacked: he was a Dutch and not a British statesman, and domestic questions had little interest for him. He governed Scotland by advice of his Council, English was a foreign tongue to him and even if he had perused the fatal order and understood it he could hardly be blamed for giving it his *imprimatur*. MacIain's submission had been concealed from him; to extirpate dens of robbers might seem a proper function, and so the Prince of Orange was probably an unconscious instrument in the plot so cunningly devised. For the security of his British rule, increasing the irritation in Scotland would have been madness—But at a later stage he was blameworthy.

"While the ancient Chief of Glencoe dwelt in fancied security in his mountain home, his destruction was being worked. Sir Thomas Livingstone, the Commander of the Forces in Scotland,



From the Illustrated London News, Sept. 22, 1894. Photo by

Photo by Valentine, Dundee.

was furnished with a copy of the instructions, accompanied by letters from Stair, which left no doubt as to the Government's intentions to put the Clanian to the sword. Livingstone was a soldier and bound to carry out the royal instructions. He had to regard MacIain as a rebel to be dealt with by military law; much the same applies to his subordinates, Hill and Hamilton. The orders to Hamilton were to take 400 of Hill's regiment and 400 of Argyll's regiment, to march straight to Glencoe, and there put in execution the orders received by the Commander-in-Chief.

"Precautions were taken by the Scottish Secretary to secure success: he made arrangements with Argyll and Breadalbane to cut off the retreat of refugees, and the Laird of Weem was to guard the passes of Rannoch. Yet the measures, though harsh and cruel, were to be carried out so treacherously that the Clanian must be destroyed under the guise of friendship. The Master of Stair feared that on the first alarm the Clanian would take refuge in fastnesses so naturally strong as to defy an armed force to dislodge them: hence the Agents of the Government must obtain entrance into the very houses and win the confidence of the people of Glencoe.



THE "THREE SISTERS." -- PASS OF GLENCOE.

"The practical working was to be divided between Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, who was connected by marriage with the family of Glencoe, and Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton. The former was well qualified for the part he had to play: on the 1st of February, he marched into Glencoe at the head of 120 soldiers. The sight of them created alarm among the inhabitants, and John, MacIain's eldest son went to meet them with 20 men, and asked them for what purpose they came. Lieut. Lindsay showed them his orders for quartering there, and assured them they had

no ulterior end in view. The system of quartering troops upon communities supposed to be indebted to the Government, was practised under parliamentary enactment, and the suspicions of the Clanian were allayed; the officers and men were billeted in the glen, and hospitable entertainment given them. Glenlyon and some of his men were lodged with Macdonald of Inneriggan, while Sergeant Barbour's party were with Macdonald of Achtriachtan, the principal cadet of Glencoe. Nearly every morning Glenlyon came to Alexander MacIain's house, the latter being his nephew by marriage, and took his morning draught, while the evenings were spent in card playing and other forms of friendly intercourse.

"The morning of the 13th February had been fixed for the accomplishment of the purpose. Lieut-Colonel Hamilton was to arrive at Glencoe at five o'clock in the morning, with 400 men, and to bar all possible avenues of escape. To the very end the appearance of cordial friendship was maintained, and for that same afternoon an invitation to the officers to dine at the Chief's house had been given and accepted. On the evening before the massacre the suspicions of the Chief's eldest son, John, were aroused, and about midnight he went to Glenlyon's quarters to make inquiries and found him and his men getting their arms ready, but Glenlyon put him off with friendly assurances and a story that they were getting ready to punish Glengarry's people for a raid, and that he would be sure to mention any danger to Sandy and his wife, that is, to MacIain's second son and his own niece.

"The hour arrived but a snowstorm delayed Hamilton and enabled the bulk of the Clanian to escape. Glenlyon's instructions were peremptory, and he was determined to carry them out. Macdonald of Inneriggan, his host, with nine others were slain in cold blood. Macdonald of Achtriachtan and eight of his family were sitting round the fire when a volley of musketry killed all but his brother, who asked of Sergeant Barbour the favour of being allowed to die in the open air. Barbour granted the favour 'for the sake of his meat which he had eaten.' Macdonald came out, flung his plaid over the faces of his intending murderers, and escaped in the darkness.

"Others were busy in the residence of the Chief. Lieut. Lindsay who lodged near by, knocked and asked for admission

Photo by Valentine, Dundee.

SCENE OF THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE, 1692. From the Illustrated London News. Sept. 22, 1894.

in friendly terms. MacIain commenced to dress and ordered his servants to open the door and provide refreshments. The response was a number of shots, one of which passed through MacIain's head, killing the Chieftain on the spot. His wife had her clothes and jewels pulled off. As a result of the ill-usage she was subjected to, she died the following morning.

"MacIain's sons were warned by faithful servants in time for them to escape. As John, the older, left his house, 20 soldiers approached it, but he and his brother Alexander, favoured by the darkness, made their escape. Old Ranald of the Shield, was dragged out of his bed, and knocked down for dead. Young Ranald, the son, escaped, and his father recovering, went to another house, but that was burnt, and the warrior and bard met his death.

"When day had fully dawned, and Hamilton appeared, 30 individuals had fallen victims, but it is probable that as many more, women, children and old men, died from exposure and want upon the hillside. The orders were to slay all under 70, but one aged clansman 80 years old was shot by Colonel Hamilton. After setting fire to the hamlets, the soldiers drove away from the smoking glen such sheep and goats, cattle and horses, as could be found.

"Thus ended the massacre of Glencoe. It not only touches the Macdonald heart with grief and indignation, but must bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every countryman to think that in the land of kindly Scots, individuals could be found to besmirch the fair fame of Caledonia with so dark a stain." (Abridged from *Clan Donald*, II., 207–220).

Parliament inquired into the matter, and, as will be seen presently, "whitewashed" everybody except the Master of Stair who was asked to resign the office of Secretary for Scotland; no military and no capital punishments appear to have followed. In time the King exonerated Stair, and he, Hill, Glenlyon and Livingstone were promoted or advanced in due course.

Original documents relating to the Glencoe Massacre are in *Culloden Papers*, London, 1815, pp. 19–22. The chief's name is there spelled "M'Ean of Glenco." Paper No. XXVII. contains a letter from Sir John Hill to the Laird of Culloden, dated "Fort William, 9th Oct., 1692," and says, (p. 22), "The Glenco Men are abundantly civil; I have put them under my Lord Argyle



MACDONALD OF GLENCOE.

From R. R. McIan's "Clans of Scotland."

"The above figure illustrative of this clan represents a young man plunged in deep afflictive emotion, beside the sad memorial of the death of his ancestors. In a plain round bonnethe wears an eagle's feather, and the appropriate badge of his tribe. The jacket is of Lachdan or undyed cloth, and the sporran or purse is of the olden fashion." [Three feathers denoted a chief, two a chieftain, and one a gentleman].

and have Arkenloss surety for them till my Lord comes; for they are now my Lord Argyle's Men; for 'twas very necessary they should be under some person of power, and of honesty to the Government . . ."

It is pleasant to record a tradition connected with this lamentable business, and told in *The Martial Music of the Clans*, 54, 55. It is that a Campbell piper played Lord Breadalbane's March under its title "Wives of the Glen," early on the fateful morning, in the hope of alarming the MacIans. The Gaelic words breather ather much of cattle and herdsmen, perhaps the following paraphrase is a trifle less rugged:

Wives of Glen-Cona, Glen-Cona, Glen-Cona, Wives of Glen-Cona, awake from your dreams! Hark to my warning, Death comes with morning, Hark to the warning that my pipe shrilly screams.

Herdsmen are falling, vain was their calling, 'Scape to the hills with your bairns and your men! Danger is 'round ye, fiend-foes surround ye, 'Rouse from your slumbers faithful Wives of the Glen!

Readers with music in themselves will recognize the rhythm that Sir Walter Scott has made popular to the same air in "Hail to the Chief!" (which it has been suggested might be called The President's Salute if it were not used too frequently for other people). This tune is also said to have been skirled through the streets of Brussels on the morning of Quatre-Bras to rouse the slumbering highlanders, some of whom in a few short hours immortalized themselves at Hougoumont. It should be stated that Lord Breadalbane's March in Mackay's Pipe Music is not like Hail to the Chief, but the title may have belonged to more than one tune.

It is thought that no apology need be made for introducing some views of Glencoe and neighboring places. Much stress has been laid by various writers upon the barrenness and desolation of the Pass; by Macaulay apparently to imply that the inhabitants of such scenes must be expected to be savages, and that not being able to derive a living from the soil, they subsisted solely on plunder; whereas the *Memoirs of Lochiel*, Maitland Club, p. 315, concludes a description with mention of "a beautiful valley, where the inhabitants reside." A tourist very recently

wrote as follows in an English paper: "The grand and commanding object at the head of Loch Leven is Glencoe . . . its precipices rise like a huge wall, dark as though built of lava. Tremendous buttresses, from base to summit, disengage themselves from their surface, separated from each other by depths such as might have been cut and cloven by Thor's great hammer, wielded in stormy passion. The mountain is scored across, too, by deep lines and platforms of trap, as though they marked the successive floods of molten rock poured out by volcanic forces. Nothing can be more utterly sombre, sad, and desolate than this Glencoe . . ."

For the convenience of possible pilgrims to Glencoe, a sketchmap of the railroad, etc., in that part of the country is here inserted. It may be of assistance in laying plans, to know that the railroad shown connects Glasgow or Edinburgh, via Stirling, with Callender, thence to Oban, and that at a recent date, a steamboat used, in the summer season, to make the passage from Oban to the neighborhood of Ballachulish on Loch Leven, where it is understood, conveyances may be procured for excursions to the Pass and elsewhere. Invercoe, the residence of the present proprietor of Glencoe, Sir Donald Smith, is near the right bank of the junction of the Cona with Loch Leven; Treachtan, spelled in more than one way, is a small loch through which the Cona flows. For a few particulars about the locality, see the first paragraph of this Section.

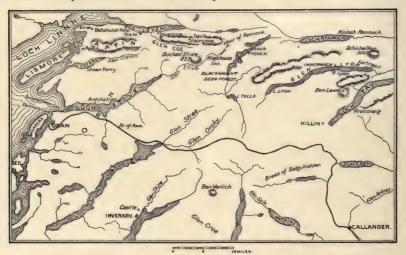
Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe was a man of gigantic and muscular frame, and his bones were to be seen in 1845 in an open niche of the ruined chapel of St. Munn. (Logan's *Clans of the Scottish Highlands*). He was succeeded in the chiefship by his older son

XIII. JOHN. There does not appear to be much known about this chief after his escape from the massacre beyond certain privileges accorded to himself and his clan in view of the ruin brought about by the disasters of 1692. He died before 1714, and left three sons—1. Alexander. 2. James, a captain in het Prince's army in 1745. 3. Donald, out in 1745.

Resuming our extracts from Volume IX. of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, we find in the Session of May 23, 1695 (some three years after the occurrence) an entry that "His

Majesties Commission under the Great Seal, for an inquiry about the slaughter of Glencoe, [was] read." The Commission does not appear in the Acts, but can be found among the Minutes in the appendix; perhaps a couple of quotations may be interesting, though the apologetic proceedings of the Parliament in search of a scape-goat are rather long.

[Commissio pro inquirendo de cæde de Glencoe Gulielmus Dei Gratia Magnæ Britaniæ Franciæ et Hyberniæ Rex fideique defensor Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ



CALLANDER AND OBAN RAILWAY.

From Black's Guide to Scotland, etc.

suæ ad quos presentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem . . . pro examinando et inquirendo de cæde quorund Cognominis de McDonald aliorumque de Glenco anno millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo secundo . . . etc.]

Which may be rendered:

Commission for inquiry concerning the killing of Glencoe:

William, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and defender of the faith, To all well-disposed men of his entire dominions to whom these our letters present may come, greeting . . . for examining and inquiring into the killing of certain of the name of McDonald and of others of Glencoe, in the thousand six hundred and ninety-second year . . . etc.

[Endorsed] Voted nemine contradicente, that his Majesties high Commissioner transmitt the humble thanks of the Parliament to his Majesty for ordering an inquiry in that matter, whereby the honor and justice of the Nation might be vindicated."

It is interesting to observe that some members of Parliament becoming impatient, they asked several times for the Report, as follows:

On June 14, 1695, it was "Moved, that the Commission for inquiring into the Slaughter of the Glencoe-men, may give in an account of their procedure therein."

On June 18, it was "Moved that the Commission for inquiring into the Slaughter of the Glencoe men may give an account to the House of their procedure in the said affair."

On June 20, it was "MOVED again, that the Commission for inquiring into the slaughter of the Glencoe-men, may give an account to the House of their procedure in the said affair. His Majesties Commissioner signifyed, that the Commission had now brought the said affair to a conclusion, and a report thereof was prepared, which in decency ought to be first sent to the King, and that on Monday next, since they were so earnest, he wold endeavour to lay the discovery of the said affair before the Parliament."

On June 24, "SEVERAL members insisting to have the report of the Commission for inquiring into the Slaughter of the Glencoe men laved before the Parliament His Majesties Commissioner told the Parliament, that the report of the Commission for inquiry into the business of Glencoe, being sent to his Majesty on Thursday last, he wold lay the same before them, with the depositions of the witnesses, and other documents relating thereto, for their Satisfaction and full Information, and if they thought fitt to make any other use of it, he made no doubt it wold be with that deference and submission to his Majesties Judgement, that becometh so loyal and zealous a Parliament, in vindication of the Justice and honor of his Majesties Government. Then the report . . . [was] read . . . After hearing of the said Report, it was voted, nemine contradicente, that his Majesties Instructions . . . contained no warrand for the execution of the Glencoe men, made in February therafter. THEN the question stated and voted, if the Execution & Slaughter

of the Glencoe men . . . be a murder or not, and caried in the affirmative. Moved that since the Parliament has found it a murder, that it may be inquired into, who were the occasion of it, and the persons guilty and committers of it, and what way and manner they should be prosecute, . . ."

On June 26, "Supplication the Glencoe-men Craving redress for plundering their Cattle, and burning their Houses, read, and remitted to the Committee for Security of the Kingdom."

On June 28, "Then the Parliament proceeded in the furder inquiry of the Slaughter of the Glencoe-men; And in the first place as to the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingstoun, in two of his Letters directed to Lievetennent Collonell Hamilton, and the saids Letters being read, after debate thereon, voted first proceed or delay, and caried proceed. Then the question stated, whither Sir Thomas Livingstoun had reason to give such orders, as were contained in these letters or not, it caried in the affirmative nemine contradicente. Collonell, Hill and Lievetennent Collonell Hamilton ordered to attend the next Sederunt of Parliament."

July 2, 1695. "THEN the Parliament proceeded in the further inquiry of the Slaughter of the Glencoe men as to these who gave the orders, and were the Actors of it, and the Master of Stairs Letters* directed to Collonel Hill, with Lievetennent Collonell Hamiltons deposition, and Collonell Hills order* to Lievetennent Collonel Hamilton, read, and Collonel Hill called and compearing, his oath taken before the Commission was again read, and it being moved that the Collonell may give his oath, and depone upon what further Interrogator[ie]s any of the Members of Parliament shall be pleased to put to him, and he having accordingly deponed on several Interrogators proponed by several of the Members of Parliament, and signed the same, his Deposition was read, and then the vote being put, if from what was laid before the House, Collonell Hill was clear and free of the Slaughter of the Glencoe men or not, it caried in the affirmative nemine contradicente WARRAND granted to cite Lievetennent Collonell Hamilton against the next Sederunt of Parliament."

July 8, 1695. "LIEVETENNENT Collonell Hamilton being

^{*} These letters and orders are in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1859.

Cited to appear this day and he being called, and not Compearing, Certification was granted against him, and he ordered to be denounced apprehended and secured in the terms of the former order. The Parliament having resumed the inquiry into the Slaughter of the Glencoemen and who were the Actors . . . voted, if from what appears to the Parliament Lievetennent Collonell Hamilton be clear of the murder of the Glencoemen, and whither there be ground to prosecut him for the same, or not, and carved he was not clear, and that there was ground to prosecut him. THEN the Question stated and voted as to Major Duncanson at present in Flanders; if the King should be addressed either to cause him be examined there, about the orders he receaved, and his knowledge about that matter, or that he be ordered home to be prosecut therefore, as his Majesty shall think fitt, or not; and carried in the affirmative. that part of the Report of the Commission as to Glenlyon Captain Drummond, Lievetenent or Adjutant Lindsay, Ensign Lundie, and Seriant Barber, read with the Depositions of the witnesses against them And the Ouestion stated and voted, If it appeared that the saids persons were the Actors of the Slaughter of the Glencoemen under trust [i. e., that the slaughter was an act of treachery] And that his Majesty be addressed to send them home to be prosecute for the same according to Law or not, and carryed in the affirmative. Therafter voted if it should be remitted to the Committee for Security of the Kingdom to draw this Address, or a new Committee elected for drawing therof, and carryed Remitt. REPORT from the Committee for Security of the Kingdom in flavors of the Glencoemen read, and remitted to the said Committee, That there be a particular Recommendation of the Petitioners case to his Majesty brought in by the said Committee."

"AT EDINBURGH the Eight day of July One thousand Six hundred and nynty five years Anent the Petition presented to his Majesties high Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament by John McDonald of Glencoe for himself and in name of Alexander McDonald of Achatriechatan and the poor remnant left of that Family Shewing that it being then evident to the conviction of the Nation how inhumanely as well as unchristianly the deceast Alexr McDonald of Glencoe the deceast John Mc-

Donald of Achatriechatan and too many more of the Petitioners unfortunate family were murdered and butchered in ffebruary One thousand Six hundred and nynty two against the Lawes of nature and Nations, the Lawes of hospitality and the publick faith by a band of men quartered amongst them and pretending peace tho they perpetrated the grossest cruelty under the colour of his Majesties Authority And seeing the Evidence taken by the Right honorable the Lords and other Members of the Commission which his Majesty was most graciously pleased to grant for inquiring into that affair hath cleared to the Parliament that after committing of the forsaid Massacre the poor petitioners were most ravenously plundered of all that was necessary for the sustentation of their Lives and besides all their Cloaths money houses and plenishing all burned destroyed or taken away That the Souldiers did drive no fewer than five hundred horses fforteen or fifteen hundred Cowes and many more Sheep and goats And that it was a proper occasion for his Majesty and the Estates assembled in Parliament to give a full Vindication of their Justice and freeing the publick from the least imputation which may be cast thereon by fforeign Enemies on the account of so unexampled an action And that it is worthy of that honour and Justice which his Majesty and the saids Estates have been pleased to show to the world with relation to that affair to relieve the necessity of the poor petitioners and to save them and their exposed widows and Orphans from starving and all the misery of the extremest poverty to which they were inevitably lyable unless his Majesty and the saids Estates provide them a remeady And therefore most humbly Begging That his Grace and the saids Estates wold from the principles of commiseration to their petitioners sad circumstances as well as that of honour and Justice ordain such relieff and redress to the Petitioners as in their wisdom should be found most fitt Which Petition being upon the twenty Sixth day of June now last bypast heard by his Majesties high Commissioner and the saids Estates They Remitted to the Committee for Security of the Nation to Consider the same and to report And which petition being upon the second day of July instant heard and Considered by the said Committee They were of opinion that the Petitioners should be recommended to his Majesties special favor for their reparation According to



BRIDGE OF THE THREE WATERS, -GLENCOE.



BUCHAEL ETIVE, FROM KING'S HOUSE, GLENCOE.

which Report his Majesties high Commissioner & the saids Estates having upon the day and date of thir presents heard and Considered the same They Remitted to the forsaid Committee to make a particular Recommendation of the Petitioners case to his Majesty in the Address to be drawn by them in relation to that affair." [And which address follows].

July X, M, DC, XCV.

PRAYERS said Rolls called

MINUTS of the last Sederunt read

WE your Majesties most loyall and dutyfull Subjects The Noblemen Barrons and Burrowes assembled in Parliament Do humbly represent to your Majesty That in the beginning of this Session Wee thought it our duty for the more solemn and publick vindication of the honour and justice of the Government to inquire into the barbarous slaughter committed in Glencoe in ffebruary One thousand Six hundred and nynty two which hath made so much noise both in this Kingdom and your Majesties other Dominions Bot wee being informed by your Majesties Commissioner that wee were prevented in this matter by a Commission under the great Seal for the same purpose Wee did upon the reading of the said Commission unanimously acquiesce to your Majesties pleasure, and returned our humble acknowledgements for your Royal care in granting the same And Wee only desired that the discoveries to be made should be Communicated to us to the end that wee might add our zeal to your Majesties for prosecuting such discoveries and that in so national a Concern the Vindication might be alse publick as the reproach and scandal had been And principally that wee for whom it was most proper, might testify to the world how clear your Majesties Justice is in all this matter

And now your Majesties Commissioner having upon our repeated instances communicated to us a Copy of the Report transmitted by the Commission to your Majesty with your Majesties Instructions, the Master of Stairs Letters, the orders given by the Officers and the depositions of the witnesses relating to that Report and the same being read and compared Wee could not bot unanimously Declare that your Majesties Instructions of the eleventh and Sixteent* dayes of January One thousand

^{*} Those of the 16th January are in Blackwood's Magazine, July, 1859.

Six hundred and nynty two touching the highlanders who had not accepted in due time of the benefit of the Indemnity did contain an Warrand for mercy to all without exception, who should offer to take the oath of alleagiance, and come in upon mercy tho first of January One thousand Six hundred and nyntie two prefixed by the Proclamation of Indemnity was past And that these instructions contain no Warrand for the Execution of the Glencoe men made in February thereafter And here wee can not bot acknowledge your Majesties Clemency upon this occasion alse well as in the whole tract of your Government over us For had your Majesty without new offers of mercy given positive orders for the Executing the Law upon the Highlanders that had already despised your repeated Indemnities they had but met with what they justly deserved

Bot it being your Majesties mind according to your usual Clemency still to offer them mercy and the killing of the Glencoe men being upon that account unwarrantable alse well as the manner of doing it being barbarous and inhumane wee proceeded to vote the killing of them a murder and to inquire who had given occasion to it, or were the actors in it.

WE found in the first place that the Master of Stairs Letters had exceeded your Majesties Instructions towards the killing and destruction of the Glencoe men This appeared by the comparing of the Instructions and Letters wherof the just attested Duplicats are herewith transmitted In which Letters the Glencoe men are over and over again distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders not as the fittest Subject of Severity in case they continued obstinat and made severity necessary according to the meaning of the Instructions bot as men absolutely and positively ordered to be destroyed without any further Considertion than that of their not having taken the Indemnity in due time and ther not having taken it, is valued as a happy incident since it afforded an opportunity to destroy them And the destroying of them is urged with a great deal of zeal as a thing acceptable and of publick use And this zeal is extended even to the giving of directions about the manner of cutting them off, from all which it is plain that tho the Instructions be for mercy to all that will Submitt tho the day of Indemnity was elapsed yet the Letters do exclude the Glencoe men from this mercy.

In the next place Wee examined the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingstoun in this matter and were unanimously of opinion that he had reason to give such orders for the cutting off of the Glencoe men upon the supposition that they had rejected the Indemnity and without making them new offers of mercy being a thing in itselfe lawfull and which your Majesty might have ordered And it appearing that Sir Thomas was then ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the Glencoe men he might very well understand your Majesties Instructions in the restricted sense which the Master of Stairs Letters had given them or understand the Master of Stairs Letters to be your Majesties additional pleasure And it is evident he did by the orders which he gave where any addition that is to be found in them to your Majesties Instructions is given not only in the Master of Stairs sense bot in his words.

We proceeded to examine Collonell Hills part of the business and were unanimous that he was clear and free of the slaughter of the Glencoe men for tho your Majesties Instructions and the Master of Stairs Letters were sent straight from London to him alse well as to Sir Thomas Livingstoun yet he knowing the peculiar circumstances of the Glencoe men shunned to execut them and gave no orders in the matter till such time as knowing that his Lievtennent Collonell had receaved orders to take with him four hundred men of his Garison and Regiment for the Expedition against Glencoe He to save his own honour and authority gave a general order to Hamilton his Lievetennent Collonel to take the four hundred men and to put to due execution the orders which others had given him.

LIEVETENNENT Collonel Hamiltons part came next to be considered and he being required to be present and called and not appearing Wee ordered him to be denounced and to be seised on wherever he could be found And having Considered the orders that he receaved, & orders he said before the Commission he gave, and his share in the Execution Wee agreed that from what appeared, he was not clear of the murder of the Glencoe men And that there was ground to prosecut him for it.

MAJOR Duncanson who receaved orders from Hamilton being in Flanders alse well as those to whom he gave orders Wee could not see these orders And therefore Wee only resolved about him that Wee should address to your Majesty either to cause him be examined there in Flanders about the orders he receaved and his knowledge of that affair or to order him home to be prosecuted therefore, as your Majesty shall think fitt.

In the last place the Depositions of the witnesses being clear as to the share which Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond Livetennent Lindsay Ensign Lundy and Serjant Barber had in the Execution of the Glencoe men upon whom they were quartered Wee agreed that it appeared that the saids persons were the actors in the Slaughter of the Glencoe men under trust And that wee should address your Majesty to send them home to be prosecuted for the same according to Law

This being the State of that whole matter as it lyes before us and which together with the Report transmitted to your Majesty by the Commission (and which we saw verifyed) gives full light to it Wee humbly beg that considering that the Master of Stairs excess in his Letters against the Glencoe men has been the Original cause of this unhappy business and hath given occasion in a great measure to so extraordinary an Execution by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of Surprize And considering the high Station and Trust he is in and that he is absent Wee do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your Government as yow in your Royal wisdom shall think fitt

And likewayes considering that the Actors have barbarously killed men under trust Wee humbly desire your Majesty wold be pleased to send the Actors home, and to give orders to your Advocat to prosecut them according to Law there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your Government of so foull and scandalous an aspersion as it has lyen under upon this occasion

WE shall only add that the remains of the Glencoe men who escaped the Slaughter being reduced to great poverty by the depredation and vastation that was then committed upon them And having ever since lived peaceably under your Majesties protection Have now applyed to us that wee might interceed with your Majesty that some reparation may be made them for their Losses Wee do humbly lay their case before your Majesty

as worthy of your Royal Charity and Compassion that such orders may be given for Supplying them in their necessities as your Majesty shall think fitt.

And this the most humble Address of the Estates of Parliament is by order and their Warrand and in their name Subscribed

by

May it please your Majesty
Your Majesties most humble most obedient
and most ffaithfull Subject and servant
sic subscribitur
Annandale P[resident].

I. P. D.* Parl:

Which Address was upon the tenth day of the Moneth of July One thousand Six hundred and nynty five voted and approven in Parliament.

RECOMMENDED to his Majesties Commissioner to transmitt to the King the said Address, with Duplicats of the Kings Instructions, and of the Master of Stairs Letters. Moved That his Majesties Commissioner have the thanks of the Parliament for laying the Discovery made of the matter of Glencoe before them; As likewise, the Commission for their carefull procedure therein, Which being put to the vote, approve or not, carried in the affirmative nemine contradicente Which his majesties Commissioner accepted of."

There is reason to believe that the redress sought in the petition above mentioned was in due time afforded. Pending the royal pleasure in this respect, protection was given and renewed to save from caption and other legal executions for civil debts the following heads of the community of Glencoe:—John Macdonald, the chief; Alexander Macdonald, his brother; Alexander Macdonald of Achtriachtan; Alexander Macdonald of Dalness; Ranald Macdonald in Lechentuim, Ranald Macdonald of Inverigan, Alexander Macdonald in Braikled, and Angus Macdonald in Strone. It is pleasant to read that as soon as news of the Glencoe necessities reached the distant Isle of Monach, beyond Uist, Alexander Macdonald of Griminish (Alastair Ban MacIain Ic Uisdein), tacksman there, filled his birlinn with meal, and brought it through stormy seas to the relief of Clanian. (Clan Donald, II., 221, 222).

^{*} In præsentia Dominorum (in the presence of the Lords of Parliament).



MACDONALD OF GLENCOE.
Escaped from Massacre in 1692.
(Clan Donald, II., 219).

It may seem strangely careless to us, that the book Historical Notes refers to Tindal I., 284, for "Maclean [sic] of Glencoe," but a writer in English Notes and Queries for 1887, vol. II., gives another instance of the same error in Popish Families of Scotland,—"Makeans is erroneously printed Mackleans;" and the Registrum Secreti Sigilli has been quoted: "John Makelane of Ardnamurchane," though the original appears to be: J. Makeane of Ardnamurquhan.

On June 22nd, 1695, we find that Alexander McDonald, brother german to John McDonald of Glencoe, younger son of the chief killed in the massacre, and who had married the niece of Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon is named as one of the cautioners on the bond of the immortal Rob Roy. (Clan Gregor, subsequent to p. 156).

Though out of place in one respect, it may be mentioned here that in Burke's Landed Gentry, Article, Stewart of Ballechin, we read that in 1700, John Stewart, 4th of Ardsheal, married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Stewart, 8th of Ballechin in Athole, and had Isabel, married to Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe. (Stewarts of Appin, 134). This Alexander Macdonald



Date and monogram upon a stone inserted under one of the windows of a house, probably that of John Macdonald, the eldest son and successor of the thief, renbuilt on his return to Gleneve after his father's murder. From Blackwood's Magazine, July, 1859.

was the grandson of the chief murdered at Glencoe. (Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXXXVI.).

"The son of the murdered chief escaped the Massacre, and succeeding his father in the chiefship reorganized the broken clan. It was he who changed the religion of the clan. Like most divisions of Clan Donald, the Glencoe Macdonalds had been Roman Catholics, but some time in the reign of Anne [1702–14] they became 'Episcopalians.' There is a story told of Glencoe, which is found also in other places in the Highlands, to the effect that the chief, having quarrelled with the local priest, commanded his whole clan to change their creed; and that on a certain Sunday morning he stood at the cross-reads, armed with a yellow stick (or, as some say, a gold-headed cane),

and very forcibly pointed the way to the Protestant church as the way in which the clansmen should walk. Hence it happened that Protestantism became known to them as . . . the Religion of the yellow stick."

"To this day, [1903] at Glencoe, Invercoe, and Ballachulish, there are large flourishing congregations of Gaelic-speaking Episcopalians . . ." (Jenner's Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee, lvii, lviii).

XIV. ALEXANDER. He must have succeeded shortly before 1714, as that is the time given for the death of his father John.

Among the 102 "chief Heritors and Heads of Clans in the Highlands" who signed an address to George I. on his accession to the throne in 1714, was "A. M'Donald of Glenco." By court intrigue this was prevented from being delivered to the King. (Clanronald Family, Appendix, xvii.). The non-delivery of this address to His Majesty, and the non-recognition of the signatories was the direct cause of the rebellion of 1715. (Clan Donald, II., 222).

The laird of Glenco attended the famous hunting party of the Earl of Mar on the Braes of Mar, August 27th, 1715. (Stewarts of Appin, 122). The party was assembled ostensibly to hunt ordinary game, but in reality to foment another rebellion.

In spite of the death of Dundee, the incompetence of his successor, the liberal offers of the English Government and the disarming of the clans, (in which Glencoe and the other chiefs surrendered the worst arms and secreted the best), the Camerons, Macdonalds, Macleans and some others held out. In August, 1715, the Keppoch and Glengarry Macdonalds captured some English infantry at the end of Loch Oich; in September they attempted to surprise the garrison at Inverlochy; with a number of Camerons and others they assisted in taking possession of Dunkeld, Perth and Edinburgh. In this campaign the revival of an Irish song gave Scotland the well known air: "The Campbells are Coming."

On the march from Auchterador to Sheriffmuir a chosen body of Highland troops, including the Macdonalds under Clanranald, Glengarry, Sir Donald MacDonald, Keppoch and Glencoe, formed the vanguard under General Gordon. (Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXX.).

The Clanian fought at the plain of Sheriffmuir, near Dumblane, where the Scotch army under the Earl of Mar, was attacked by the royal troops under the Duke of Argyll, November 13, 1715; the result being called a drawn battle.

Most of those who were "out" with Mar in 1715 received a pardon under the Privy Seal, January 4, 1727, and engrossed in a highly ornamental style, in the following terms: "Pardonamus, remittimus, relaxamus, pranfato, Robert Stewart de Appin, Alexander Macdonald de Glenco, John Grant, Domino, Anglice Laird, de Glenmorriston, Joanno Mackinnon, Anglice Laird de Mackinnon, Roderick Chisholm de Strathglass, etc." (History of the Chisholms, 64).

Undismayed by the ill success of the prior Jacobite movements, Prince Charles set sail for Scotland in the Doutelle, 18 guns, and landed in July, 1745. (Johnston's Geography of the Clans). McDonald of Glenco was among the chiefs who on July 24th concerted measures with Prince Charles on board that vessel. McDonald of Lochgarie led 600 men including those of Knoidart, Glenco, Glenmorriston and his own immediate following the McDonalds of Glengary, and met the Prince at Obertaive in Glengarie. (The Last Jacobite Rising, 32, 44, etc.). On his march to Dunblane the Prince was joined by Glencoe with 60 of his men and by James Drummond or MacGregor of Glengyle at the head of 255 Macgregors; 60 of the Glencoe Macdonalds had previously joined Charles Edward at Perth. (History of the Highlanders and Clans, II., 49). The chief was a member of the prince's council of war which met daily at Holyrood during the occupation of Edinburgh. On the march to Kelso the troops advanced in two columns; the first under the command of the Chevalier included the Macdonalds of Glencoe. (Last Jacobite Rising, 77, 81, etc., Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXXIX).

"At Preston-pans or Gladsmuir, September 21, 1745, the MacDonald regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry and Glencoe formed the right wing, with Glencoe in the post of honor on the extreme right. All did their part in putting to flight the British veterans of Sir John Cope's army, with a loss to the latter of 500 men." The clan were posted on the right of the front line according to an official account published by Charles in the Caledonian Mercury. (Browne, III., 79). They were in

the front line according to *Scott*, and the text of *Johnston*, although the map in the latter work placed them in the second line. They were under the command of their chief Alexander Macdonald. (*Appin*, 134). The clan was organized as a regiment. In the clan regiments every company had two captains, two lieutenants and two ensigns. The front rank was composed of gentlemen [clansmen who could trace their descent from a chief], all with targets when fully armed, as was generally the case; every gentleman carried a musket and broadsword, with a pair of pistols and a dirk in his belt; the target was generally of wood and leather thickly studded with nails. (*Browne*, III., 123).

This organization does not agree exactly with the following account, though the *British Chronologist* bears testimony to the sturdy support by the Glencoe and other MacDonalds in "The Forty-Five,"—of what they considered their allegiance.

In November, 1745, "A list of the Pretender's officers and troops contains among other names which we have met with in the foregoing Notes:

The Clanronald regiment, Colonel Clanronald of Clanronald, jun. . . . 200 Men.

The Keppoch regiment, Colonel Macdonald of Keppoch . . . 400 Men.

The Glenco regiment, Colonel Macdonald of Glenco . . . 200 Men.

The Glengeary regiment, Colonel Macdonald, of Glengeary, jun. . . 300 Men.

The leaders are spoken of as "Colonels" because, although their commands were only of battalion size, it was probably thought more expedient to consider each clan as a regiment than to arouse jealousy by consolidating them into one organization.

Mackenzie, in the part of his History of the Macdonalds touching upon those of Glencoe, quotes General Stewart of Garth, (Sketch of the Highlanders), who "Relates how in one instance the force of principle, founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence, was exhibited in the case of this persecuted tribe in 1745; when the army of Prince Charles lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon the orders of King William for the mas-

sacre of all the Glencoe men. MacDonald, the immediate descendant of the unfortunate gentleman who, with nearly all his family, fell a sacrifice to the horrid massacre, was at the time. with his followers, in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all incitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending the true character of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, ordered that they should be marched to a distance from Stairs' house and park, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had in the war for extirpation of the clan should then excite among them a spirit of revenge. When the proposed order was communicated to the MacDonalds, they declared that in that case they must return home; for, they said, 'if they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man for the conduct of his ancestor, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause:' and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion that they were prevented from marching away next morning. Such was the character of the massacred MacDonalds of Glencoe and their descendants."

The battle of Culloden was fought April 16, 1746, and showed the disastrous effects of clan jealousy. It is claimed that the victory of the English over the Scots in this battle was due to the defection of the MacDonalds, and that the defection was due to their having been slighted in the posting of the Young Pretender's troops. Since the battle of Bannockburn the Mac-Donalds were always, except when they yielded from courtesy, (as to the Macleans at Harlaw) placed on the right wing of an army in recognition of their services to Bruce. But at Culloden. Prince Charles' Adjutant, Sullivan, neglected to post them in their hereditary place; the MacDonald commanders waived their pretensions, but their followers were dissatisfied, and when the time of conflict came, left the field with pipes playing and colors flying, although their chiefs endeavored to persuade them to remain, and one of them, Keppoch, fell while trying to urge them against the enemy.

The foregoing is one account; but as to the Clanian there are three possibilities: first, that it withdrew prior to the battle as a result of the dissension arising from the accidental shooting of one Macdonald by another; second, that the clan participated in the sullen refusal of the majority of the Macdonalds to advance upon being refused their traditional post on the right of the line, or third, that they were among those who followed Keppoch in his charge on the English forces, and Clan Donald, II., 222, 223, states not only that Clanian fought at Culloden, but that Donald, the descendant of Ranald of the Shield was able to lead 130 men.

At all events their part in the general uprising was sufficiently prominent; for their chief was among those expressly excepted from the general amnesty of 1747.



CULLODEN MONUMENT.

Strange infatuation for the Stewarts and for "Bonnie Charlie," even after the latter had fled to France. Doubtless thousands in Scotland were still moved by the sentiment voiced in the simple, pathetic couplet of a well-known song:

"Mony a heart will br'ak in twa, Gi'n ye no come back again."

According to the *British Chronologist*, a bill of attainder in 1746 includes, among other Scottish names and titles: James Graham, called viscount of Dundee; Donald MacDonald the younger, of Clanronald; Donald MacDonald, of Lochgarie;

Alexander MacDonald, of Keppoch; Archibald MacDonald, of Barrisdale, and Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe. And in 1747, most of the above are mentioned among "Persons excepted by name out of the King's general pardon."

As Mackenzie relates, (History of the Camerons, 238), it was in 1746 that the Duke of Cumberland, backed by a servile parliament, sent out detachments of English soldiers, with orders to burn the seats of Lochiel, Glengarry, Keppoch and others. "The excesses committed on helpless men, women and children, are universally admitted to be unparalleled in history . . . It would have been literally possible to travel for days through the depopulated glens without seeing a chimney smoke or hearing a cock crow."

After the events of 1745 had consigned the Stewart prospects to the limbo of lost and hopeless causes we find scions of the Glencoe family in the service of the reigning monarchs. (Clan Donald, II., 223).

Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe left issue—1. John, his successor. 2. Donald, who was born in 1738, and died in 1821. He married Flora, daughter of Donald Maclean of Kilmollaig, Tiree, and had by her (a) Major-General Alexander Macdonald of the Royal Artillery, C. B., K. St. A.; (b) Captain Macdonald. (Clan Donald, III., 643).

XV. John, who 1751 had the forfeited estate restored. [The estate of his father Alexander was forfeited for the Rebellion of 1715]. By charter dated 29th July, 1751, Robert Stewart of Appin, heritable superior of Glenco—to whom the Duke of Argyll had given the superiority forfeited by his father, John Stewart—disponed to John the two merklands of Polvig and the two merklands of Carnick with the Glen of Lecknamoy. (Clan Donald, III., 215).

The notorious Alan Breck, immortalized by Robert Louis Stevenson, stopped at Carnoch, then the home of Macdonald of Glencoe, and informed the chieftain's mother of the death of Campbell of Glenure, as he started to escape from the scene of the murder. Andrew Lang in an article "Who shot Glenure?" (MacMillan's Magazine, 1879, p. 136), says that May 15, 1752, the home of Macdonald of Glencoe was Carnoch on the south side of Loch Leven, exactly opposite Callart, and three miles

from Ballachulish and Ballachulish Ferry by which men cross into Lochaber. He also states that Macdonald's mother had a brief interview with Allen Breck shortly after the murder, and that she was Ardishiel's sister. (See also Introduction to Scott's Rob Roy). The relationship mentioned indicates that the chief at that time was a son of XIV., Alexander, and that the latter was now dead.

"That the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children is a firm belief in the minds of Highlanders. The 'curse of Glencoe' it is pointed out, was visited upon the house of Campbell of Glenlyon, which has now no representative in the direct male line, the family having merged in that of Garden-Campbell. Campbell of Glenlyon, grandson of the perpetrator of the massacre of Glencoe, firmly believed this. He was an officer in the British army and in 1771 was stationed at Havannah. Here a marine was sentenced by court-martial to be shot, but was reprieved. Notice of the reprieve was not given to the condemned man, and it was arranged by the authorities that all the formalities of a military execution be proceeded with. The signal for firing was to be given by Glenlyon producing a handkerchief from his pocket, but instead of this he was to show the pardon. By an unfortunate accident Glenlyon showed the handkerchief instead of the pardon and the man was executed. Campbell was overcome with horror, exclaiming: 'The curse of God and Glencoe is upon me! I am an unfortunate ruined man.' The disaster so preyed upon his mind that he resigned from the service." (Adapted from Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LVIII.).*

We insert here a letter dated about the time we have reached, and containing some touches of nature. Letter XI., May 17, 1773. After writing of "the young ladies of Glencoe," the writer proceeds: "But, first, that you may estimate duly the renown of this little glen, I must tell you what a tuneful and warlike tribe inhabited it. The tribe of Macdonalds, called MacIans, or sons of John, who dwelt in this sequestered spot, were all, as the country people say, born poets; and this belief

^{*} It was also a widely spread belief that the madness and murder depicted in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and founded upon an incident in the history of the Stair family, was a retribution of fate.

was so well established, that, if a MacIan could not rhyme, his legitimacy was called in question. This is not only very strange, but very true; but I think we may credit it, on the principle of the old bye-word, 'Bode a gown of gowd and ye'll aye get the sleeve of it.'"... The writer philosophizes at great length, alludes to the natural strength of the glen, the friendliness of the clan towards the Stuarts their neighbors, and describes the massacre. ... "The present Laird, grandfather to my young friends, was an infant two years old, and was carried off to the hills by his nurse, unobserved. The only other male in the chief's house who escaped was the bard. ... Next day ... The bard sat alone upon a rock, and, looking down, composed a long dismal song, ... They say it has not much poetical merit. No wonder 'Small heart had he to sing.'" (Letters from the Mountains, by Mrs. Annie Grant [of Liggan]).

The last time the old clan spirit was evoked was when Macdonald's Highlanders, the 76th Regiment, was organized. It was authorized in 1777 and organized in 1778, through the influence of Macdonald of Sleat. With the exception of one Irish and two Lowland companies, the 76th was largely recruited from the Macdonalds of Sleat and Glencoe. It was officered from various families, including the Macdonalds of Glencoe . . . The 76th sailed to New York and landed in August, 1779. Here the flank companies [light infantry and grenadiers?] were attached to batallions of that description and remained between New York and Staten Island until February, 1781, when they embarked under Major General Phillips for Virginia, the light company being in the 2nd batallion of light infantry; the grenadiers remained at New York. The regiment landed at Portsmouth, Virginia, in March, 1781, and joined the troops under Brigadier General Arnold [the renegade?]. In May they formed a junction with the army under Lord Cornwallis. July 6th La Fayette forced the pickets in front of Yorktown and drew up in front of the British line. He was resisted by the 76th and 80th regiments, which formed Colonel Dundas's brigade; the 80th were covered by woods, but the 76th were exposed in an open field. The 76th joined in the charge that routed La Fayette, who lost his cannon and 300 men killed and wounded. Soon afterwards 400 chosen men of the 76th, the majority of

whom had never before been on horseback, were detailed as mounted infantry and attached to Tarleton's Legion. Upon the surrender at Yorktown, when the British bands played 'The World Turned Upside Down,' the regiment was broken up into detachments, and marched as prisoners into different parts of Virginia. At the close of the war they embarked for New York, whence they sailed for Scotland, where they were disbanded in March, 1784, at Stirling Castle. (Adapted from Stewart, II., 116; Browne, IV., 297; Canadian Magazine, VII. 259).

"John Macian of Glenco had an only son, Alexander, to whom he left a General Disposition of his Estates in 1785." (Clan Donald, III., 215).

XVI. "ALEXANDER, who married Mary Cameron, and had three sons, Ewen and two others, whose names we have not been able to ascertain." (Clan Donald, III., 215). [The Addenda, 643, states: He married Mary, third daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron, Bart. of Fassifern, and had by her—1. Ewen, his successor. 2. Ranald, a Captain in the Army, who married a Miss Thomson, and had a son, Alexander, and a daughter. 3. John. 4. Jane Cameron, who, in 1817, married Captain Coll MacDougall, of the 42nd Regiment].

At Martinmas of 1787, Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe was paying £120 rent to Ewen Cameron of Fassiefern, for Corpach, one of the estates of Lochiel. (*History of the Camerons*, 458).

Alexander made a Trust Disposition of his Estate in 1814 in favour of Trustees [he died 19th December, 1814] and Sasine was taken of the same in 1816. In 1817 a Deed of corroboration of the previous procedure was executed by his successor. (Clan Donald, III., 215).

XVII. EWEN Macdonald of Glenco. He was born 11th July, 1788, and succeeded his father about December, 1814. He was a distinguished physician in the East India Company Service, and it would appear that the affairs of the family became more prosperous when, in 1828, the Trustees conveyed back to him the patrimony of his house. In 1837 Ewen entailed the estate on himself and male heirs; failing whom, heirs female; failing whom, to his daughter Ellen Caroline Macpherson Macdonald, whose mother was the daughter of an Indian Maharaja.

Ewen died 19th August, 1840. (Clan Donald, III., 215, 216, 644).

In 1856 the historical painter Robert Ronald M'Ian, died; he was born in 1803. He was descended from the old M'Ians or Macdonalds of Glencoe, Argyllshire. Amongst other subjects he painted "The Battle of Culloden," in 1843. In 1845 his illustrations of Highland costumes were published in "The Clans of the Scottish Highlands." (Logan's). He was elected an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1852, in recognition of the meritorious character of his work. Fanny M'Ian, his wife, painted "Highlander defending his Family at the Massacre of Glencoe," which has been engraved. On the 13th day of December, 1856, M'Ian died at Hampstead. (Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXV.).

It has been intimated in Logan's Clans of the Scottish Highlands, that Alexander, the nephew of Ewen, and son of Captain Ranald MacDonald, succeeded Ewen as chief, but had no property. This succession, however, appears to be a mistake, for the writers of Clan Donald, in the Addenda to Vol. III., give [not as Chief, but we presume, as real head of the House]:

XVIII. Ellen Caroline Macpherson Macdonald, who was born 5th July, 1830. She married Archibald Burns, who afterwards assumed the name of Macdonald; and had by him—1. Archibald Maxwell, who succeeded her. 2. Duncan Cameron. 3. A daughter who married Mr. Ballingal. 4. A daughter, who married Mr. Cook.

Ewen having no other heirs of his body, the estate devolved upon Mrs. Burns Macdonald, by whom it was disentailed in 1876, and whose son sold it in 1894 to the Honourable Sir Donald Smith. (*Clan Donald*, III., 216). Mrs. Burns Macdonald died March 3rd, 1887 and was succeeded by her son. (*Ibid.*, 644).

We read that apparently after 1885, "Mr. Douglas Maclean (New Zealand) and of Kensington Garden Terrace, Hyde Park, London, has the dirk and powderhorn which belonged to the MacDonald of Glencoe who fell in the massacre. They came to Mr. Maclean through a relative, the late General MacDonald of Invercoe." (Records of Argyll, 288, Note).

XIX. Archibald *Maxwell*, succeeded his mother, Mrs. Macdonald; he died unmarried 9th June, 1894, and was succeeded by his brother—



XVII,-EWEN MACDONALD OF GLENCOE. XX,-MAJOR DUNCAN C. MACDONALD OF GLENCOE. From Clan Donald III., 212.

XX. Duncan Cameron Macdonald, a Major in the British Army. He married Marie Thayer, only daughter of William M'Intyre Cranston, late of Holland Park, London, and has by her—1. William M'Iain. 2. Roy Cameron. 3. Ellen Macpherson. (Clan Donald, III., 644).

The following, gleaned from several English newspapers, gives one of the latest public references to the MacDonalds of Glencoe. Lord Archibald Campbell some years ago instituted the Inverary Pipe Band, consisting of about a dozen bagpipers and drummers: they are in the habit of accompanying him to attend the Gaelic Mod,—an annual musical congress. In 1895 it was announced that they would make an excursion through the Pass of Glencoe, in September, on their way from Inverary to Oban, to the Mod; and straightway certain journalists appear to have seen a chance for items,—welcome in a dull season. So the "news" was published, and telegraphed across the Atlantic, that the Macdonalds of the Glen had sent word to his lordship that if any of the clan which hadmurdered their ancestors attempted a demonstration in Glencoe, the fiery cross would be sent around and heads would be broken. Next came the "news" that Lord Archibald was much annoved at this threat, for, so far from intending a triumphal march, his object was to make expiation for the past by appropriate dirges; but, the road through the Pass being the public highway, he and his pipers would go through at all hazard, and under police protection if necessary. In due time the journalists had written articles in several moods; some seriously giving the history of the massacre of 1692; others humorously alluding to excursion trains which might bring people to places well adapted for seeing the coming fight; one at least insinuating that even in their palmy days the Campbells never dared to enter the Glen except by treachery; refusing to believe that a Highland gentleman would persevere in outraging the sentiments of the Macdonalds; asserting that there were now no Macdonalds or other inhabitants of the Pass, etc., etc. The oth of September having come and gone, the public was informed of what actually occurred, viz., that the pipers rode for the greater part of the way in a large vehicle drawn by horses, but dismounted several times to play, and that in Glencoe and wherever else they went. the inhabitants, including some Highland cattle, came to hear

them with many signs of interest. Incidentally it was mentioned that the visiting party were welcomed at "Invercoe House, the residence of Sir Donald Smith, now proprietor of Glencoe"; also at Dalness in a forest about five miles south of the Glen, the proprietress of which is "Mrs. Stuart, a descendant of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and an enthusiastic Highland lady." One writer stated that the last chief of the Glencoe Macdonalds died in 1894, and in his account continues: "On an elevated spot in the village stands an Iona Cross, with the inscription—"This



MACDONALD'S MONUMENT, GLENCOE.

Cross is reverently erected in memory of MacIan, Chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who fell with his people in the massacre of the 13th Feb., 1692. By his direct descendant Ellen Burns Macdonald, of Glencoe, August, 1883.' The picture is from Lansdale's Scotland, II., 418.

Of Sir Donald Smith, mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, we were told by newspapers in 1897, (but some of the statements have been denied by Sir Donald), that he was a self-made man who started life as an errand boy in a village store in Morayshire, emigrated at the age of seventeen to Canada, where he entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company. He made an enor-

mous fortune, was knighted for services in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific railroad, and purchased the estate of Glencoe, where he was building a magnificent country seat. But the accounts continue that when he wished to assume the title of Lord Glencoe, the whole of Scotland was up in arms at the idea of a self-made man and a parvenu adopting for his title a name so celebrated in the history of Scotland and the annals of the grand old Clan MacDonald. It is presumed that this is "Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, of Glencoe in the County of Argyle and of Mount Royal in the Province of Quebec and Dominion of Canada," who in 1900 raised the Strathcona Horse for service in the South African campaign: a curious "whirligig of time."

"At the present day [1903], the villages of Invercoe and Glencoe are largely inhabited by Macdonalds, who claim descent from those whom the Campbells . . . strove to exterminate. Large numbers of them are employed in the Ballachulish slate quarries." (Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee, lix.).

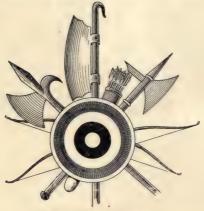
"Glencoe, though so near a large quarrying village at Ballachulish, abounds in legend and tradition, running back to Viking times, and second-sight is by no means extinct in the glen. In the haunted burial isle, there is a curious grave stone, with an effigy of a Highlander cutting down a Dragoon." (Highlands of Scotland, 162, Note).

"Clans are no longer what they were. The purposes for which they once existed, as tolerated but not as sanctioned societies, are not now lawful. To all practical purposes they cannot legally act, and they do not legally exist. The law knows them not. For peaceful pageantry mention may still be made of clans and chiefs of clans; but the Highlands of Scotland, no longer oppressed by arbitrary sway, or distracted by feudal contentions, are now inhabited by loyal, orderly and peaceful subjects of the Crown of Great Britain; and clans are not now corporations which law sustains, nor societies which law recognizes or acknowledges." (Legal decision as quoted in Skene's Celtic Scotland, III., 366).

After their clan-ties were broken, the MacIans, spelling the name in many ways, and scattered in various parts of the world,

have acted individually, and their acts and names are in more accessible publications than some of those quoted in these Notes. A few have been set forth in the *McKean Genealogies*. We have lett to other hands their family histories and the pleasant duty of showing how faithfully those of them who were born or who settled in the United States have served their country in the legislature, the army and navy, in literature, or in the humbler but necessary walks of life.

SECTION IV.—OTHER MCKEANS.



ADAPTED FROM LOGAN & ME IAN

It was intended to place in this part of the work some historical and other notices of McKeans in Europe, not known to be referable to the Ardnamurchan and Glencoe families. But it was concluded that some cadets of those families who retained the name MacIain should be mentioned briefly, and a few Glencomen in one of the tables, and also some names which may not be really sons of John, but which seem more or less equivalent to, though not always spelt, McKean. The word "unidentified" would apply to most of the persons, but not to all. A very few O'Cahans, O'Kanes, etc., have been included. Americans were intended to be dealt with in the book McKean Genealogies, published by Mr. Cornelius McKean of Perry, Iowa, in 1902.

It is doubtful whether the McKeans, like some other families, can (?) be traced back to Adam, but those of them who would like a very ancient mention of an apparent form of the name, apart from the tolerable certainties mentioned in Section I., may be amused to know that in the *Croniques* . . . de la Grant Bretagne . . . , by Jehan de Waurin,—an eight volume work in old French, beginning with the siege of Troy and coming down to the 15th century,—it is mentioned that "Bructus et sa com-

paignie parvindrant en une isle qui a a non Makainie, ou ils descendirent pour eulx rafreschir et prendre leurs necessitiz;" i. e., Brutus and his company arrived at an island which had the name Makainia, where they disembarked to refresh themselves and attend to their wants;" "the Paris MS. reads Makaine" land a later volume has it indexed Macanial. This Brutus is said to have been the son of Julius, the son of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, the son of Anchises, who survived the siege of Troy,—by a damsel who was the niece of Lavinia, the queen of Æneas aforesaid. The island was on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, near the "royalme d'Aufriques," and probably belonged to a people called Macæ by Lempriere in his Classical Dictionary. The Trojan war may also remind some of our readers that Machaon, a celebrated physician and son of Æsculapius, healed the wounds of the Greeks, and that he was one of those concealed in the wooden horse.

We might pass from an impossible entry in the 11th century, B. C., to a very plausible one in the 2nd century of our era, but that has been given in Section I.

Rad'[ulphus] and Thomas de Makeni, and "Cecilia mater Thomæ," met with in 1197 in Buckinghamshire, according to Finales Concordiæ [Bounds of Grants], were probably not Macs at all.

About 1230, for the exact date does not seem to be given, the Calendar of State Papers includes among the pleas and profits of the Mint in Ireland: "From Makan, for a false farthing of new money, ½ mark." This was evidently not a case of counterfeiting, as the old punishment for that crime was "to forfeit the hands with which he wrought that false," and later it was made high treason; when taken with false money, "true justice was thereupon to be done." If Makan's first name was Rory, (or Roderick), it was probably a case of official responsibility. (See below, 1285).

The Chartularies, etc., of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, state that about 1245 Wymarke Helier grants to Donald Makeyn [in another entry ''Makewe''] certain lands in ''Ostmans' Town, Dublin,'' and Wymark and his heirs will guarantee (''warrantizabimus'') the said land against all men and women ''inperpetuum.'' Donald Makeyn seems at first glance undoubtedly of the name and

clan: our Iains had not yet appeared, much less their sons, but what then? There were certainly Johns and possibly Iains before ours.

In the Calendar of State Papers, for the date 1249, there is a "Mandate . . . to cause Raymond Makeyn, citizen of Bordeaux [which city belonged to England for about 300 years], . . . to have 942 marks in which the K. [sic] is bound to him, and 20 marks for his expenses." Also, in November of the same year, we find in Royal Letters, Henry III., Vol. II., Appendix II., No. 8, that The Sheriffs ("Vicecomites") of London are charged to apprehend certain persons, including Reymundum Ernaldi Makeyn, . . . Ernaldum Makeyn de la Ruchele, and their aiders approving treachery (?) "rectatos de proditione" and other transgressions against the king in Wasconia, [Gascony, one of the English territories in France between the 12th and 15th centuries], . . . unless several evil-doers are produced, . . . and the Constable of the Tower of London is commanded to receive them and guard them with care "in medio stadio Turris."

The same series of Papers, "Ireland," mentions Raymond again, for in 1257 "The King [Henry III.] permits 2,200 marks. residue of a debt for 5,000 marks due to citizens of Bordeaux, to be paid to Reymund Makayn and another, in the name of the citizens, out of the issues of vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys and priories in Ireland." Also, on the next day, "A grant to Makayn and the other, of 50 marks a year . . . until full satisfaction shall be given to certain citizens of Gascony for 2,200 marks . . . loan made by them to the K." Also, in 1258, Makayn . . . having caused to be conveyed to Drogheda, "for the K.'s Welsh army," 50 hogsheads of wine, which the K. does not require, . . . his attorney is allowed to sell the wine. Finally, in 1266, 953l. 5s. 4d. were paid to the attorney of Reymund Macayn and other citizens of Bordeaux, for the K.'s debt to them. [The mention of wine for the army shows a custom of olden times, and Dixon in Border Clans quotes several accounts: "For --- days the army had no drink but water."]

In the Hundred Rolls —the List of the Hundreds or divisions of one hundred families or freemen into which English counties

were separated—in Vol. I., reign of Edward I. (after his return from the Holy Land, say, about 1272), there is mention of Alanus and Paganus Makene at Tunbridge in the Hundred of Wrotham, County of Kent. This name may be one of three syllables, and the same as the following. In Vol. III. of the same reign Radulphus de Mackene (also written MacKeneya) was a free tenant in the County of Oxford, and Willielmus de Mackeneye is mentioned in Berkshire; but these are perhaps only resemblances.

In the Calendar of State Papers and the 13th year of Edward I., [1285], there is mention of a payment of £25 to Rory Mackan, Baron of the Exchequer, "who takes £10 a year."

In Memoranda de Parliamento, 1305, a certain Donald McCan, called in Latin fiz Can and Fiz Kan [Fitz Kan], and in an old French copy having the name Campbell struck out and "fuiz Caan" [Kane?] above the line,—prays the King [Edward I.] to grant him £10 for the term of his life, for ten librates of land "les queux le dit Dovenald tynt en la Conte de Are . . . sicome avant est dit" [which the said Donald held in the County of Ayr . . . as aforesaid]. Donald is called a knight, and appears to have gotten the land by charter from John Balliol, "formerly King of Scotland."

1396 "yeiris fra the incarnation" was "the debait" called the battle of the North Inch, said to have been fought on the banks of the Tay, near the City of Perth, between thirty of the Camerons and thirty Mackintoshes according to some accounts, or between the Clankayis and Glenquhattanis according to another, or Clan Quhele and Clanchinyha according to a third; and in which the single survivor on one side fled,—the eleven on the other being so near death that they could not pursue him. Our reason for mentioning the "debate" is that Scott, in the Fair Maid of Perth, has given the name of the "morally brave but constitutionally timid" survivor as Eachin MacIan. Impressible McKeans may re-assure themselves by reading the preface to the book, wherein Sir Walter discloses the fact that they were "imaginary persons" in his relation of the "mortal encounter."

"The Isla branch of the Macdonalds was styled after John, second son of John, Lord of the Isles, 'Clann Iain Mhoir'. . . . This John married about 1400, Marjory Byset, heiress of the Seven Lordships of the Glens, in Antrim. After the marriage,

John is found styled Lord of Dunyvaig and the Glens, also Lord of Isla and Kintyre . . . Dunyvaig Castle, for centuries a ruin [and of which we present a picture], stands on the estate of Wildalton in Isla." (*The Last Macdonalds of Isla*).

Under the date 1408 the transiency of human affairs is quaintly exemplified in a Gaelic Charter re-produced in *Clan Donald*, (I., *Appendices.*) and by which Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, grants certain lands "to Brian Vicar McKay and to his heirs after him for ever and ever"; and if the conditions are not



DUNYVAIG CASTLE, ISLAY.

fulfilled, the lands are to be returned "to me, and to my heirs after me, to the end of the world."

About 1431 there appear to have been two John MacIan Abrachs, one in the Glencoe branch, (see that date in Section III.), and the other a MacLean. (History of the Camerons, 26).

Browne's History of the Highlanders and Clans gives items of clan feuds, forays and battles in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mentioning the Slaight or Sliocht-Ean-Aberigh, Slaight-Ean Voir and Slaight-Ean-Rey, which apparently indicate different septs of Eans or Johns, though the fact that the Slaight-

Ean-Aberigh was at one time in Strath Naver in the extreme north of Scotland and far from Ardnamurchan and Glencoe, may denote a distinct family.

Volume IX. of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, contains in 1468, among the Rentals of our Lord the King, [James III.], a statement of seizin to Duncan McKane, of Tarren, Corblaren and Garfauld in Argyle.

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, there is entry of a composition with a certain McCane in 1473, for harboring Gilbert McGay when the latter was an outlaw; the amount is "viij h" [pounds].

In 1478 we find in the Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, that "duncain makmakyn" [indexed MacMakane], was charged with several others by "elizabeth hamiltoun for the wrangwise spoliation away taking and witholding . . . of sixty-six bolls of clean broddit aits."

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland state that in 1481 and 1483, half of Ester Lanerky and Caschdrapane were let to Donald McCane; and to his widow and son Fergus in 1486. In 1483, in the barony of Down, there are mentioned Lundy, Andrew and Donald McCane [indexed McKane]; the last two are tenants of Sessintuly, specified again in 1486.

According to the Acta Dominorum Concilii [Acts of the Lords of Council (in Civil Causes)], in 1489 Johne mcmakane is charged by Johne Kennydy of Carlok for wrongful occupation of certain lands; and in the same year: "Before ye lordes comperit Sr. Johne kenedy as procurator [for several persons including] alane mckene . . . and protested that because Robert of Carlish gert summon them at his instance and at the instance of our sovereign Lord and wald nocht compere to folow them, that therefore," etc.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland contain an entry in 1494: "Item, the viij day of Nouember, gevin at the Kingis command, brocht be the Bischop of Murray and the Chalmerlane, to certain Masones that passit to cast down McKanys house [indexed McKane, Makane] with the Lord Gordoun xviij l." Another entry in the same work, shows that "At Kirkcudbright, [pronounced Kircoóbree], April 8, 1495, there was a remission of 40 shillings to Thomas Makane," who seems to be a Lowlander,—the occasion is not stated. Thomas evidently

appears again in 1497: "Item, to William Yong and Thom Makachane, wrychtis in Dunbar, to make the ruf to Hannis toure, thair xiiij dayis wage, xxxvij s. iiij d."

The MacEachen-Macdonalds were a branch of the Clanranald and the name means Son of Hector. The progenitor lived toward the end of the 15th century, and the family was in existence at the end of the 19th. (Clan Donald, III., 239). As ch in Gaelic names is often if not always silent, the name must have been pronounced very nearly like MacEan. The MacEachens of Howbeg and Glenuig originated early in the 17th century and came down to 1835. (Ibid., 248, 250). The MacEachens of Peniuren date from before 1638 to after 1786. (Ibid., 251).

Alexander Macdonald, V. of Dunnyveg and the Glens, 1499–1538, a man of note in his day, was known in Scotland and Ireland as Alastair MacIan Chathanaich, and married Catherine, daughter of John MacIain of Ardnamurchan. (*Ibid.*, 375, 376).

Allan IV. of Knoydart, about 1501, is "designed" Allan Ranaldson McEanson, [because] his father was Ranald and grandfather John. (Clan Donald, III., 238). A few similar forms are met with now, Mc and son being used together, with the same patronymic.

For 1512, or "The Kalends of January; the age of the Lord one thousand, five hundred and twelve years," the *Annals of Loch Cé* mention "A hosting by Garrett, Earl of Cill-dara [Kildare?] . . . on which occasion he took the castle of Bel-ferside, and broke down the castle of MacEoin* and plundered the Glinns, and a great part of the country; . . ."

After the fatal battle of Flodden, in 1513, the surviving Highlanders, including Alexander MacIan of Glengarry, again "raised the standard of rebellion, and Sir Donald of Lochalsh was proclaimed Lord of the Isles," but MacIain of Ardnamurchan seems to have succeeded in helping to extinguish the rebellion. (Adapted from *Clan Donald*, I., 319, 321; and *Lang*, I., 361).

The State Papers of 1532 include letters from Northumberland to Henry VIII.: In one of them he "... haith sertyffyed

^{*&}quot;MacEoin, literally, 'son of John,' or Johnson; the cognomen of the family of Bissett of the Glinns, in the County of Antrim. See Reeves's Eccl. Antiq., p. 325."

Your Highnes of the arryvall of certeyne Scottyshemen to the nombre of foure thousand in your said land, [Ireland], under the leading of Machonell, [MacDonald], intending to join with Adonell [O'Donnell] . . . the Scottes Kyng hath sent fyve hundreth archers from the owte isles of Scotland unto the said Machonell in great hast . . . " In another letter soon after, he writes:-- "Your Highnes shall perceyve that for Makayn vs gone over in to Ireland with the numbre of 7000 men, whereof most parte be footemen, and it is said hath done myche harme in Ireland . . . the Kyng of Scottes hath plucked from the Erle of Argyle, and from his heires for ever, the rule of all the out iles, and given the same to Mackayn and his heires for ever; and also hath in likecase taken from thErle of Crafford suche landes as he had ther, and given the same to the said Mackayne; the which hath ingendred a great hatred in the said Erle's harte against the said Scottes King." [James V.]. Here in eight lines of an official document the name of MacIain is spelt in three different ways.

In the same work are some possible mentions of Other McKeans, but we will only quote that in 1534, among a number of "escriptes and writings" called "Cromwell's *Remembrances*," there is notice of Agnes and Ellen Macheon, in depositions about "the breach of Ilchester prison." And in 1537, among Reports against Ossory [the Earl] in Ireland, we find the names of Cosney McKeyhone and Bollyagh McKeighon, possibly old forms of McKeon, "judges to Okarill," and who testified.

Alexander Mackenzie in the *History of the Camerons*, 37, states that in 1548, 21 merks of land, the property of Alastair MacIan MacAlastair of Glengarry, were apprised to John Grant of Freuchie and also 12 merks, "the hereditary fee of his son Angus, all of which had been apprised for the sum of £10,770, 13s. 4d. Scots, for satisfaction of a 'spulzie' committed by Glengarry, his son, and their accomplices. These lands . . . were afterwards held for a time by Glengarry, in right of his wife, Margaret de Insulis."

In the Register of the Great Seal of the Kings of Scotland, there are certain passages in Latin, of various dates; one of them is in Section II., the other may be rendered as follows:

"203. At Edinburgh, 4th May [1548].

The Queen [Mary] has confirmed to John Grant of Culkabok,

his heirs and assigns—2½ marcates of land situated in Locharroun . . . which land of Locharron belonged to Alester Mc-Kaane McAlestar de Glengawrie in free tenement, and to Angus his son and heir apparent in fee . . ." In the note to this grant we find: "Names of assize . . . Joh. McCane McComas in Auchnaschallauch . . and among the tenants and their holdings . . . Joh. McEane McGilleis, in the town of Culnakirk in Urquhard . . ."

Mention is made in this volume, mostly as witnesses, from 1545 to 1579, of

Donald McEane McFerquhard,

Donald Owz (Owr?] McEane Mc-Fyndlaw (1), 1545.

Donald McEane McGilleis, 1545. John Doy McEane McCoill, 1545. John McCoill McKeane, 1545.

John McEane McConnill, 1545. John McEane McWilliame, 1545.

Maria McKane McFale, 1545. Donald Makane-bayne (McAne

Bayne), 1545. Wil. McPatrick Makane-bayne (Mc-Eane Vayne), 1545.

John McIldonych Makane-boy (Mc-Eane Boy), (2), 1545.

Joh. McCane McComas, (3), 1548. McEane McConquhy, 1548.

Joh. McEane McGilleis, 1548. William McDonald McKane(4),1549

Matilda, wife of the last, and daughter of Murdoch McKane,

1549.

Margareta Neynthomas McKane McEwin, 1551.

Dugall Makane (or McAkane Mc-Nele of Sorba, 1553.

Neil Makeane Maknele, 1553.

Duncan Makane-bayne (McAne-bane, McEane-vayne) McKey, (5), 1554.

Neil Makane-duffe (McAneduffe) McKachane, (6), 1554.

Malcolm Makane McDonill, (7), 1559. Donald Makane Vekvicar (8), of Sallychary 1550.

Sallychary, 1559. Neil McCaine "cliens," 1559. Duncan Makane-voir Vekeller, 1562.

Willelmus McKayne, 1562.

Wil. Makcane, 1563. Hector McAne Ekane, (9), 1567.

Duncan McEane McCondachie McGillebred, 1574.

Ferquhard McCaine, alias Jamesoun, (10), 1579.

1. In Wester Ballewat. 2. In Litill Invermorischtoun. 3. In Auchnaschallauch. 4. To whom the Queen gave letters of legitimacy. 5. Of Ballemanoch. 6. In Brasdale. 7. Of Carbarranbeg. 8. Son of the Vicar? Like McPherson, son of the Parson. 9. In Eddirracharron in Lochcarne. 10. Of the burgesses of Rothsay.

From the six bulky volumes of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545 to 1604, we will make occasional abridged quotations about names connected with the McKeans of old times.

And a rather insubordinate set some of them appear to have been at that time,—a time, however, when men all the world over, cared more for force than for law, and when almost every self-respecting Highlander thought raiding the Lowlands and often his neighbors, to be right and proper. It is small comfort to know that the enemies of the MacIans were about as bad, and were also frequently denounced as law-breakers and rebels. The compiler has waded through the whole record, disheartening in its variety of violence and wrong, and will presently give a few naïve and archaic extracts as samples, instead of pages of quotation, however curious. Before doing so, however, he will state, in excuse for this long, frail record of our possible forefathers, that several of the names are repeated over and over again, to the scandal of their peaceful and law-abiding kinsfolk.

Some readers may be interested to see the style of names borne in old times in the Highlands, so a list of various spellings of McEans and connections, almost all from the Register mentioned, will be first given, nearly one-half being indexed as Mac-Ians, though that part of the name, or its equivalent, does not always appear the last as in a surname of the present day, and would indicate alliances by marriage or otherwise, with a large number of families. A few of the following bore nicknames besides (which must have been a relief to their friends of short breath and memory), one in particular, arouses our ardent curiosity as to the reason of his bearing the alias "Girls."which charming sobriquet, however, he belied by rough conduct; in other clans we have met with the nicknames "Traitour." "Vagabound," etc. Finally, as to standing in life, many of the following-named men were tenants or retainers, and in some cases servants, but evidently most enthusiastic to follow the Laird when a neighborly incursion was to the fore.

Some McEans and apparent connections, mentioned in forays, complaints, etc., chiefly in the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*,—from 1545 to 1604. About twenty of these are Glencoe-men.

Donald McEane Dowe (3) VcAllaster (16) McEane Abrich (1, *).

Duncane McEane Dowveig (3, 12)

McIndulich Birrach (1?, *).

Duncane McEane Cam (2, *).

Angus McAn Dow (3a).

Angus Dow McEane Dow (3a).

Ewin McEane Dow (3).

Johne Dow (3) McEane Dow (3, *, 6).

Johne McEan Dow (3b).

Donnald McInnes VcEane (16) Dowy (3).

Neill McGilliechallum VcEane (16)
Dowy (3).

Tarloch McEane Dowy (3c).

Donnald McEane Doy (3).

John McEane VcMurchie (16) Glas (4).

William Dow (3) McEane Inche (5). William McAine Inche (5, *).

Allaster McEane VcFer (16) Innes (6).

John Moir McEane Keir (7, *), alias Chamrone [Cameron].

Alexander McCain McAin.

Tarloch McAine (*, c).

Allane McAne of Innerloch (21).

Allaster Mcaneabrych (1).

Donald Oig (13) Meaneabrych (1). John Meaneabrych (1).

Johnne Dow McConeill (8) McEan. Thomas McConeill (8) McEan (stabler).

Johne Oig (13) McEancheir (7, *). Johne McEandecheir (7, *).

Johnne McEandoyn (3, *).

Allane McEane (*) in Ballochquhindochie.

John McAllaster McEanwichts.

John Dow Mceane (9) McGregour (d).

John Dow McEwne (9) McGregour (d).

William McEane McHuchesoun.

Allane McInabrich (1, *) in Glencoan (10, e).

Allane Dow McInabrich (1, *) in Lochquaber (11, e).

Allaster McIndow (3) McInabrich, alias McConeill (8).

Angus McInabrich (1, *) in Glencoane (10).

Angus Dow (3) McInabrich (1, *) in Lochquaber (11).

Archibald McConeil (8) McInabrich (1, *, f).

Archibald McIndow (3) McInabrich (1, *), alias McConeill (8, f).

Donald McIndow (3) McInabrich (1, *), alias McConeill (8).

Johne McInabrich (1, *) in Glencoane (10).

Johnne Beg (12) McInabrich (1, *).

Johne Dow (3) McInabrich (1, *) in Lochquaber (11).

Ronald McInabrich (1, *) in Glencoan (10).

Ronald Dow (3) McInabrich (1, *) in Lochquaber (11).

Allaster McAne [and McEane] McInnes (6, *, g).

Allaster McCeane Oig (13, *, h) of Glenco.

Allaster McEane Oig (13, *, h) of Glenko.

Angus McEan Oig (13, *).

Rory McEane Oig (13, *).

Allane Roy (14) McEan Oyge (13, *).

Andro McEane Roy (14).

Ewne McEane McFindlay Roy (14, *, i).

Gillespik McAllane McEane Roy (14).

Johne Dow (3) McEane Roy (14).

Johnne McAine VcFynlay (16) Roy (14, *, i).

Johne McEwne VcAllaster (16) Roy (14, 21).

Ewne McEane Tuich (k, 21).

Johnne McEan Tuich (k, 21).

Gilliechallum McFarquhar Doy (3) VcEane (16) Vane (15).

John McEane Vane (15, *).

John McFarquhar Doy (3) VcAine (16) Vane (15).

Donnald Gar McEane Vany (15).

Donald Roy (14) Meane VcAchane (16, *).

John McAne VcConell (8) VcAglassre (4?, 16).

Alexander McEane VcAllane (16,*).

Alexander Oig (13) McEane Vc-Allane (16, *).

Ronnald McEane VcAllane (16, *).
Donald McEanair VcAllen (16, *).
Allan McEan Duy (3) VcAllaster (16).

Allaster McEan Duy (3) VcAllaster (16).

Donald McEan Duy (3) VcAllaster (16).

Gillespik McEan Duy (3) VcAllaster (16).

Donald McConeill (8) VcAine (16). Johnne McGillandris VcAyne (16). Donald Roy (14) McAine VcConell (8, *, 16).

Donald Moir (17) McEane VcConill (8, 16).

Johne Dow (3) McEane Dowy (3) VcConill (8, b?, 16).

Angus McAine VcConnell (8, *, 16). Gillespik McAine VcConnell (8, *, 16).

William McAine VcConnell (8, *, 16).

Allaster Dow (3) McAllane VcEane of Culchinny (21).

Angus Oig McInnes VcMartine VcEane (21).

Johnne McFatrik VcEane (16, *). Johnne Moir (17) McAllane VcEane (16) of Collardy (21).

Johnne Oig (13) McAllane VcEane (16, 21).

Ewne McCondoquhy VcEwne (16) in Auchnesune (21).

Neill McEane Duy (3) VcEwne (16, *).

Ewne McEane Dow (3) VcGillechonane (16, *).

Allaster McCondochy McEane Dowy VcGregour (16, *).

Allaster McEane VcInnes (6, *, 16).

Angus McEane VcInnes (6, 16). Donald McEane VcInnes (6, 16).

Finlay McEane VcInnes (6, *, 16).

James McEane VcInnes (6, *, 16). John McEane VcInnes (6, 16).

Ronald McEane VcInnes (6, 16).

Donald Our VcInnis (6, 16) VcEane (16) VcMartine (16, 1, 21).

Donald Roy (14) McAngus VcEane (16) VcMartine (16, 1, 21).

Duncan McAngus VcEane (16) VcMartine (16, 21).

Donald Dow (3) McConeill (8) VcEane (16) VcMartyne (16, 21).

Alexander McCaney (McEane) Vc-Sir James (16, *, 20).

Angus McCaney (McEane) VcSir James (16, *, 20).

Nicoll McEane Roy (14) Veig (*, 12?).

Angus McEane Virich (1?, *, 18). Allester McAllester Vrik (1?, 18).

Ewin McAin WcConeill (8, 19).

Alexander McAine Dow (3) Wc-Krenald (19) [McRanald].

Angus McEan Doy (3) VcInnes (6, 16) Weill (*).

Angus Reoch (14) McEane Dowy (3) VcInnes (6, 16) Weill, etc., etc.

^{*} Indexed "MacIan" in the Records. 1. McEane Abrich, Mcaneabrych, McInabrich, but perhaps not McEane Virich and Vrik,—may refer to the Clan-anverich, Clan Abarach, MacIan of Avricht, Awricht, Abrach, etc., said by Logan (?) to have originated from one of their chiefs being fostered at Lochaber. 2. Cam is crooked or bent. 3. Dow in various spellings is black or dark. 4. Glas is green, possibly from the place of residence. 5. Inche may be island, from the place of residence, or see 6. 6. Innes is for Aonghais or Angus. 7. McEane Keir, McEancheir, McEandecheir, would probably be now written McKean-Keir; the third form is indexed John

In the "Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quæ in Publicis Archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio,"—a work in Latin, in three volumes, and which is an Abridgment of the Record of Proceedings by Inquest, or Verdict of Assize, originating in Writs issuing from Chancery, between the dates 1486 and 1701,—there are several references which will be alluded to in due course. For the present it may be stated that in 1557 under the heading of the County of Bute in Scotland, there is a record that John McCame ("or McCaine"), heir of Nigellus [Niell] McCame his father, had 23 solidates 4 denariates of land in "Barnald" in the island of Bute. [We will presently find this family name spelt McKaine].

Having mentioned in Section I., the founding of the Cathedral of St. Andrew, the patron Saint of Scotland, it may be permissible to state here that in 1559, that building was pulled down by a mob, excited by a sermon of John Knox against idolatry. Professor Tennant in his poem "Papistry Stormed, or the Dinging Doun o' the Cathedral" tells how—"Great bangs o' bodies . . . Gaed to Sanct Andro's town;

(Dechir) MacIan. 8. McConeil possibly for MacDonald; see foot-note to Table of (Mc) Donalds, Appendix. 9. Shows that Ewne is sometimes, at least, the same as Eane. 10. Glencoan is on the other side of the Forth of Lorn from Glencoe, though the stream in the latter, (celebrated by Ossian), being "Cona Water," the two may be confounded. 11. Lochquaber, probably Loch Aber. 12. Beg, little or small. 13. Oig, etc., in several forms, younger or junior; literally, grandson or descendant, now written O'. 14. Roy, spelled in various ways, the red [haired?]. 15. Vane might in some cases be for VcAne, McAne, but more likely for bane, white or fair. 16. Vc for vic, old form of mac, son of. 17. Moir, mor, etc., large, great; sometimes elder or senior. 18. Vrik, evidently a contraction of Virich, which was supposed to be a form of Avricht, (see I, but more probably denotes one of the "race of MacVurrichs," who were bards to MacDonald of Clanranald. Vuirich is also given as the Gaelic for MacPherson, though that is considered to mean "son of the Parson." 19. We for Ve, equivalent to Mac. 20. This Sir James was probably the MacDonald, though indexed "MacIan." - a, b, c, etc., . . . k, l, indicate, in couples, equivalent forms of the same name. 21. Also said to be Camerons.

Ean in various shapes means John in Gaelic, but it may be necessary to caution some readers that, as a prefix in Saxon names, it is quite distinct. That word is probably from earn, eagle, and is compounded with -bald, -berht, -bert, -bryth, -dred, -flaed (-fleda), -frith, -ich, -mund, -red, -switha, -thulf, -ulf, -wlf, -wolf, etc.

And wi' John Calvin in their heads, And hammers in their hands, and spades, Enraged at idols, mass, and beads, Dang the Cathedral down."

In 1567 the Carew section of State Papers records that Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against Shane O'Neale with his assistants; among the latter were the sept of "McCan...Clankanny or Mackans country"... etc. In the same volume mention is made of Carbry McCan or McCann, "chief of name;" also that 100 acres of land in the precinct of Oriel were granted to Hugh McBrien McCan; 160 acres to McPhelim McCan; 120 acres to Rory McPatrick McCan, besides which, much is said of the McDonnells.

Also in 1568, an inclosure from the Lord Justice to the Queen, notes: "The captain of the Scots called Donnell McCane and others slain."

The Register of the Great Seal, contains under date of 1574, two documents of one of which we give the following free translation:

"2270. At Holyrood, 8 Jul. [1574]. The King [James VI.], etc., has confirmed a charter of John Grant of Fruquhy,-[by which he has sold to Angus McAlestare, son and heir of the late Alexander Makaane of Glengarrie, —the lands of Glengarrie belonging to him by virtue of appraisement and conveyance in fee executed above to his predecessors," [with other lands specified], "which they appraised to the said Angus; and this on account of letters of homage and faithful service by the said Angus for himself, his heirs and the successors of the lord of Glengarrie, and his friends, kindred, partners and associates, according to the form of law and the acts of parliament, by royal dispensation, (comprising clauses in the contract between the said John and Angus entered into at Elgin, 17 Nov. 1571), with proper charges to the said John determined before the feast of Whitsuntide next; also on account of filling up of other articles of the said contract; in which if the said Angus, etc., fail, this fief [hec infeodatio] is to be void" . . . Among the witnesses is Duncan McEane McCondachie McGillebred.

In 1576-77, according to the *History of the Camerons*, "Ewin McAne, Capitane of Inverlochy, the fader brother" of a certain

"Camroun and John Cam, his brother of surnawm," represented them before the Secret Council in their application to be set at liberty by the Earl of Athole, who had imprisoned them. [Among other things they were charged with the slaughter of a certain Donald Dow MacKewin].

There is mention in 1576, in the *Reg. Priv. Council*, of surety that two individuals, one of whom is Johnne McAne VcConell VcAglassre, shall answer at accusation of the Earl of Argyle; the charge is not set forth.

The same work records in 1579 that John, Bishop of the Isles, complains that although he is the lawful Bishop, several fellows, including "Johnne McKane of the Rande [or Randy (riotous?)] made stop, trouble and impediment . . . and being oftimes called and not appearing, letters of rebellion and horning are to go forth." Something similar is recorded on page 61.

Among the names mentioned in the Clan-Allister beg bond, "the year of God 1580 years," are Alester vic Iain Chittach and his sons; and Angus vic Iain Chittach. (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

The Carew (State) Papers include a letter in 1583 from Sir Henry Sydney to Sir Francis Walsingham, to the effect that he had informed the Earl of Tyrone that "he must not accept the sirname of O'Nell without permission . . . and appointed unto him the service of O'Chane MacKann [O'Kane McKane?] . . . and other landlords." The reference to "O'Nell" is interesting because he "esteemed the name more in price to him than to be intituled Cæsar."

Relative to names beginning with Mc, and O', this may be a suitable place to note that in 1586 the *State Papers* mention, in an account of the rebellion of the Burkes in Ireland, that the bearing of "titles of Mcs and O's was abolished," and again in 1587, reference is made to the previous "banishing of the Macs and Ooes;" but this appears to have been quite limited, for in 1585, the names of only 41 Mc's and 26 O's are given in Connaught, who "surrendered their names and customs of inheritance and received their castles and lands by patent, to them and their heirs, in English succession. The law seems soon to have been disregarded, for in 1596 we find that "the people of

Connaught will seek to retain their new titles of Macs and Oes, with their tainist* law;" and the fear is expressed that "through the revival of the tyranny of the Macs and Oes Her Majesty's laws shall no more be heard of amongst the Connaught people."

In the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, under date of 1585, Jon and Dauid mckein and James mcquhune are mentioned, apparently among residents of Esdale, Ewisdale and Wauchopdale.

Domhnull MacIain 'ic Sheumais III. of the Macdonalds of Castle Camus, about 1585, appears to have been a warrior-bard of some distinction; the writer of lasting songs, and the wielder of a terrible sword called "Five merks" from its price. There is much about Donald MacIain in Clan Donald, III., 500-504.

In the Roll of names of Chiefs and landlords, etc., in 1587, is that of allane mckane of Ilandterum.

And in the same year, according to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, John Moir Mckane and others are charged to deliver up eight hostages for MacLean,—to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorn.

The same work notes in 1591 the registration of a bond of caution, in £200 each, against a number of the tenants of the Earl of Glencairn, among whom is Bartholomew McKane in Aber,—that they will not harm James Cunynghame, pensioner of Lesmahago, and Janet Wallace, his spouse. [It seems evident from several instances, that a wife sometimes retained her own name].

In the same year the tenants of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenur-quhy, being threatened, refused to pay their mails [taxes], whereupon the sheriff and his messengers seized six cows belonging to the tenants, and were driving them off, fearing "na violence," when several of the retainers of the Earl of Atholl, including John McEan in Balnecaird, John McAllister McEanwichts in Drumnacarff, etc., followed the said messengers on horse and foot, overtook them, "utterit mony injurious and disdanefull speichis," and violently reft the said goods from them, etc., and since they did not appear as charged, are to be denounced rebels.

^{*} Tanistrie is the allotted inheritance to the oldest and worthiest man of the deceased's name and blood.—Black's Law Dictionary.

Mention is made in 1592, of James McKane "councillor there" [at Montrose]; the name is also spelt Mcayne and Makene, and (by mistake) Mcrane.

Alexander Macdonald III. of Killiechonate is mentioned in 1592 as Alastair MacIain Vic Innes. (Clan Donald, III., 464).

In 1593, according to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, David McKene in Laicht, was one of several persons bound in £500 each, not to harm Patrick Harvie in Wester Pennyveinzie.

In the same year and volume we find that the King relaxed from the horn for any cause bygone, among others Chairles McVcane of Duprene. This curious spelling means the son of the son of Ane or Ean. It is sometimes found in Old Celtic as mic mic preceding the name, but was afterwards superseded by O' in Ireland.

It has been noted already that the spelling of proper names yaried greatly in old times: we come now to a notable case of this. The MacIans of Elanterim in the General Index of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland in 1593, are those of Ilandterrum in the special index; it is found as Yllanetvrum in 1608. In a marriage contract dated 1613 we find Donald Makallane Vic Keanne of Ilandtirme. In 1627, in the Inquisitionum ad Capellam, etc., Joannes McDonald McAllane Viceane capitanus de Clanronald, was heir male of Laird Donold McAllane Vic Eane de Ellantirrin capitani de Clanronald, his father; sin this case two evident McEans, Chiefs of Clanranald, are indexed as MacDonalds]. In 1645 J. Mcorronald of Evellantirrim is the form in Clan Gregor, and Allane McKane of Ilandterrim (no date) was the Chief of Clanranald. Here the personal name has been spelt in five ways and the local one in seven. We are tempted to give a few quotations from the marriage contract mentioned above, which was between John Macdonald of Clanranald and Marion (always called Moir in the document, possibly a pet name), daughter of Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, 1613. but though Vic Keanne may be classed with "Other McKeans," the contract is very long in its references to the "airis" expectant. the "tocher" of the bride (including "nyne scoir of gud and sufficient quick ky" and ane gaillay of twentie foure airis with thri sailling and rowing geir gud and sufficient"), etc., etc. Is it not written in the third book of Clan Donald, Appendices?

On the 18th day of July, 1594, among witnesses to a Bond of the Clan Neill, and in which Sir James Macdonald, the last of those of Isla, is described as Apparent of Dunyvaig,—one is Donald Makayne. The bond was signed at Killeonane, now incorporated with the modern Parish of Campbelltown. (Last Macdonalds of Isla).

It is stated in the Reg. Privy Council, Scot., that in 1594 Hector Monro complains of some men who had "awaytuke . . . ane grite nowmer of his ky . . . to ane quiet place," whither he followed them and "caryed thame with him"; but the Laird of Balnagownis collected sundry accomplices, among whom were a couple of the inevitable McEans, one described as a "stabler;" they followed and overtook the complainer, "invadit him and his cumpanie, . . . schoit arrowis at thame, wundit thame with durkis . . . and drave with them the said ky;" and the aforesaid Laird is to be denounced rebel. [After a repetition of the complaint in 1596, the rest are denounced, but the McEans do not figure in the later document,—had they reformed?].

According to the *Inquis ad Cap. Dom. Reg. Ret.*, Willelmus Makkeine was heir in 1595, of Joneta Makkeine, daughter of his paternal uncle (''filiæ patrui'') in 3 roods of land in Watslakkis in Dumfries; 3 acres towards Mill-dam-head (?) with tenements, a garden and barn, etc. E. 30 l.

The Macdonalds of Achtriachtan, the second family of Cadets of Glenco, [the Dalness family does not appear to have retained, even in a few individuals, the name MacIain], was descended from I. Alexander, son of John Dubh, son of John Og (1), Mac-Iain Abrich of Glenco,—towards the end of the 16th century. His son, II., Alexander appears on record in 1611 as Allaster MacIain Duibh Mhic Alastair of Achtriachtan, the MacIain Duibh being in this case the patronymic or tribe name. family has come down to the present time. (Adapted from Clan Donald, III., 221). Their share in the Massacre of Glencoe is mentioned in Section III. The time is doubtful, but it was probably about 1644, that Patrick Aberach MacGregor, (son and successor of Duncan, k. 1604), the leader of the MacGregors under Montrose, married "Marion daughter of Macdonald of Auchatrichatan, [perhaps II. Alexander], chief of the most powerful tribe of the Macdonalds of Glencoe." (Sir Robert

Douglas' Baronage of Scotland, 1798, as quoted in History of the Clan Gregor, II., 18).

"A branch of the Clan Iain of Glencoe that may be genealogically traced for a few generations, [from the end of the 15th to about the middle of the 18th century], consists of the descendants of I. Allan [MacIain] Duibh, son of John Dubh, and brother of the founders of Dalness and Achtriachtan." (Clan Donald, III., 225).



ISLE DAVAAR AND CAMPBELTOWN LOCH.

From Last Macdenalds of Isla.

There is a Bond signed "9th day of March, 1597 years," in which Ronald McConnald vic Iain [McDonald McIan] of Iland, supposed to be the owner of Isles including Davaar of the mouth of Loch Kilkerran, accepts the Right Honourable Sir James McConnald of Knockransay, Knight, as his superior Master and Foster, and obliges himself to fortify and defend Sir James with all the men and gear he may have . . . against all deadly or mortals without any exception in all time hereafter; and he signs with his hand at the pen led by the writer under-written [Johne McKay]. (The Last Macdonalds of Isla).

In 1598 the Reg. Privy Council Scot. contains the complaint

of Johnne Dumbar and others, that a number of persons, among whom were some of "Fraseris vagaboundis" and about a score of McAnes, McEans, VcEanes, VcEwnes, etc., included in one of the Tables already given,—"with convocation of the lieges to the number of 200 . . . with tua handit swordis, steilbonnettis, etc. . . . came . . . by way of briggancie to the said George Dumbaris duelling house in Clune . . . and thair tressonablie rased fyre in the said house," [and in short, behaved most abominably, even to Mairjorie and Issobell Dumbar]. "And, not satisfeit thairwith," drove away horses and cattle; "the order is to denounce them rebels."

In the following year, Vol. VI. of the same work tells about "James McKene, one of the bailies of the burgh of Montrose, and William McKene, one of the councillors thereof,"—who got into trouble for sturdily maintaining what they supposed were their rights. It seems that the King [James VI.] had charged the magistrates and council of Montrose to elect John, Earl of Mar, to be provost of the said burgh for the year, but they disobeyed the charge and wilfully passed to the horn: "the King and Council therefore ordain the defenders to be committed to ward in the castles of Blakknes and Downe of Menteith during his Majesty's pleasure."

The Reg. Privy Council Scot., notes that Allane McEane in Ballochquhindochie, complains in 1600, that he was denounced rebel by letters raised at the instance of the Treasurer,— for non-appearance before the King and Council . . . Complainer was never lawfully charged to appear . . and would willingly have done so . . and he had found caution in 300 marks to that effect . . . "Wherefore the said letters should be suspended simpliciter"—which is done. [Under another date it appears that Allan had given bonds through George Elphingstoun of Ballabeg [Belenbeg].

In 1601, the *Inquis.* ad Cap. Dom. Reg. Ret. states that Andreas McKaine ("or McKame") inherited the lands of "Barnale," [see previous note for 1557, where the name was spelt McCaine], as heir of John McKaine his brother. [This Andrew will appear as McKaine in 1644].

We learn from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland that

in April, 1602, "James McKeane, merchant, burgess of Monrois, for Patrik Buttir of Marytoun, 500 marks, to answer before the King and Council at Dundie upon 24th instant for his lying under the censure of [civil?] excommunication."

And in August of the same year there is complaint by Robert Robertsoun of Strowane that he has been "straiti" to find caution for a number of persons; yet, as they are not obedient to him, nor acknowledge him in service or duty, he asks that they be made to find caution for themselves; among them are a McEane Keir in Rannoch (of Glenco?) and a McEane Virich there [in Cannavoren]; the defenders not appearing, are to be denounced rebels.

There is a document in the Carew division of State Papers, called "A Survey of Ireland," written about 1574, but with additions to the time we have now reached. Under the headings: "Ulster . . . The Bounds . . . Men of name,"—we find McDonnell, O'Cane, McCan, O'Donnell, etc.

About 1603, as we learn from Mackenzie's Camerons, 77, a Clanranald who was the son-in-law of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, is mentioned as "a youth of extraordinary qualities, a polite courtier, and very adroit in the management of business." It may be stated that the laird of Glengarry of this period, [probably Donald MacDonald and the eighth], was also a son-in-law of this Cameron, and that his son Eneas, the ninth of Glengarry was in 1660 created a Peer of Scotland, as Lord Macdonell and Arros. MacIanduy, which is almost undoubtedly MacIan the Dark, is the title of the Allan Cameron mentioned,—the sixteenth of Lochiel.

We will depart from the resolution to omit everything concerning the O'Cahans and O'Kanes, and introduce a few to show their apparent intimacy with the McDonalds and McKeans about the time we have now reached.

In the Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ asservatum Repertorium,* under the heading "London-

^{*} This work is a Catalogue of Records preserved in the Rolls Office of the Court of Chancery of Ireland. There are two volumes, representing Leinster and Ulster; but those for Connaught and Munster, if they were ever published, appear to be missing from the Washington set.

derry," and for the year 1603, there is apparent mention of a parish church, erected and endowed long before by Dominus O'Cane, in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the town of Annaghe in Co. "Colrane," with lands in Balliowne; [the village of Owen or John?]; also a hospital "sive termon" [or sanctuary] in "Co. Coolrane," known as Gowry de Aghadowy,-"all of which have for a long time been unjustly withheld from the king." * Curiously, this record of Lord O'Cane seems to be indexed "McConnell," and equivalent to McDonald, and also curiously, "Gowry" appears possibly connected with a Gaur', alias Gorry, alias Gaured O'Cahan, also in Londonderry, who died in 1621, and who, together with two McGorry O'Cahans, is mentioned in several documents along with McDonnells, likewise of Londonderry.† The same work also states that in Longford, in 1603, Shaen and Tad O'Canyn were found attainted as to their possessions.

This may be an appropriate position for the following Table: Some O'Cahans, McCanes, McKeanes and apparent connections in Ireland, from 1603 to 1617; mentioned in the Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, [List of Open (or Public) Rolls],—chiefly as having been pardoned for rebellion.

1603 Edmund McIyn of Tulerie."Donnell O'Cahan of Laghballeconnor.

- Gilladuffe McKeane gentlemen
- " Neile McCan of Kilubtagh, in Antrim Co

With a pitcher of milk from the fair of Coleraine,
When she saw me she stumbled,
The pitcher it tumbled,
And all the sweet butthermilk watered the plain.

But All's Well that Ends Well, though all the pitchers in the place were broken soon after.

† The O'Cahans and O'Canes of Londonderry; O'Caanes of Antrim; O'Cahans of Armagh; McCans of Armagh; O'Kanes of Fermanagh, etc., etc., mentioned or to be mentioned, may have been related to the O'Cahans of Ulster alluded to in Mr. Roberdeau Buchanan's exhaustive Genealogy of the McKean Family of Pennsylvania. All of the above Counties are in the Province of Ulster.

^{*} Colrane and Coolrane are of course the place made famous by the Beautiful Kitty,—she who according to the song was tripping

1604 Redmond McMurtagh O'Kean,	1610 Richard McBriane
Carlow Co.	Carragh O'Cahane
" Tirlogh boy McEane of Bal-	" Domonto O'C-1 gentle-
lynecowlagh, in Dublin Co.	McRowrie men, of Colerane
" John McCahin of Bawnemore,	" Donogh O'Cahane Co.
in Kilkenny Co.	McCorbe
1605 John Magiane) yeomen, of	" Rorie McPatrick
"Nicholas Magiane Down Co.	McCan
1607 Sir Donell O'Cahan, Knight,	
of Tyrone Co.	"Hugh McBryan McCan grant of
" John Mechain [McKain?] of	4 7.4.4
Ballishannan, Donegal Co.	" Carberie oge Armagh Co.
McShane O'Cahane	McCan
Shane Ballagh O'Cahane	100ie McFilelliii
	McCan J
	1612 Owen McYeone, yeoman, in
" John Shallogh O'Cahane	Down Co.
" Brian O'Cahane McRichard " John Shallogh O'Cahane " Brian O'Donell McWm.	Dermod oge O Canan
O'Cahane	"Cowy McRoory O'Cahan
" Quoy McBrian Modder	" Manus O'Cahan McOwen
O'Cahane	" Owen O'Cahan McSenekyn
(-0 Cl W-V	Murrey "
" Coyne McKeynie* Co.	" Manus O'Cahan McOwen " Owen O'Cahan McSenekyn Murrey " Owen O'Cahan McDermod " Brian O'Cahan McDonnell " Roorye Duff O'Cahan McDonnell
" Donogh O'Cahan \ of Wexford	" Page Des Old 1 M
" Patrick McCahane Co.	" Roorye Duff O'Cahan Mc-
" Brian oge O'Cahan	" Cowie O'Cahan McBrian
" Dermond O'Chane	
" Donell O'Chane	" Jenkin McHugh O'Cahan j
"Owen McCane	" Carberie McCan,* gentleman,
" McTowell[Dowell?] of Louth	(grant of land to), in Ar- magh Co.
McCane Co.	1613 Shane Crone) laborers of
" Edmund McCane	McKeane laborers, of Clogher, in
" Edmond McCany of Donegal	Owen McKeane Tyrone Co.
Co.	1615 Philip O'Keine, in Mayo Co.
1608 Donohie O'Cahan	1617 James Machen,† of Drum-
1609 Rowrie O'CahaneMcToole boy	carne, in Donegall Co.
" Brian McCany	" James McMakene,† of Do-
" Richard O'Keen	naghdie, in Down Co.
" Gorie McShane O'Cahan, of	1617 Ran all boy McDonnell, and
" Mulmory McCahan bane (Done-	several other McDonnells.
O'Reilie gal Co.	" Donnogh O'Makin, gentleman,
o Kenie , co.	of Cloonowen, in Roscom-
	or Cloonowen, in Roscom-

^{*} Coupled with McKeyne. †These names are coupled together in a grant "to be free from the yoke of the servitude of Scotland, Ireland, or any other nation, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of an English subject;"

mon Co.

In the Carew division of the Calendar of State Papers, among the gentlemen of the Barony of Guery, is Calloigh McKeen of Collonok; and among those of the Barony of Ballaighene is Oyne McEnn of Rahendarg; both included in "The Grand Panel of the County of Wexford," in 1608.

In the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, a certain Euphemia McKane appears, quite incidentally, in the following dry extract, under date A. D. 1612: "RATIFICATIOUN In favouris of Maister Josua Durie of his pensioun. Oure Souerane Lord with the aduise of the Estaittis of this pnt. parliament Ratifeis apprevis and confirmes The Lettir of pension gevin and grantit Be his hienes To Maister Josua Durie Minister at Sanctandrois Ewphame mckane his spous and Johnne Durie their Lauchfull sonne Contening the sowme of Sevin scoir of pundis money of Scotland," etc., etc.

"1612 [Feb.] Alexander Stewart of I.aggarie is debtor in the testament of Agnes McKean—Commissary Books of Glasgow." (Clan Gregor, I., 397. From the "Chartulary."

"Honestus Kilianus Makkien Scotus civis Bidgestiensis (Bromberg) sells his garden and shed behind the hospital of St. Stanislaus to Michael Normanth (Anglicus vel Scotus) for 50 gulden (1615)." (Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia).

In the Appendix to Vol. III. of the *Hist. Notes*, about 1615, it is stated that "Orgiel, Oriel or Uriel, a large territory comprehending the present counties of Armagh, Louth and Monaghan [in the province of Ulster], had for the Names of Chiefs or Septs, the McCahens or McCahans. Also that Clan-Bressail [one spelling of which now is "Brazil"!] or Le Braskelough on south of Lough-Neagh, in barony of O'Neland, was the country of the McCanes

--in short, naturalization papers. Machen has been considered as an English name, but it must, sometimes at least, have been one of the Macs.

There are also no fewer than forty-two McEgans, McKeighans, McKeygans, etc., spelled in eight different ways, besides McKavan, McKeveny (coupled with McKeyne, McQ.1yn, etc., but we will spare the reader detailed reference to them. Among place-names, however, we may include suggestive mentions of "the said O'Cane's country," in 1608; "a messuage in St. Michan's parish near Dublin" in 1610; "Sept of the Carrowes". [Careys]; Cane in Wexford Co.; Kilmcowne and Coilmckeane [McKean's Church?], the latter in Roscommon Co., and probably dedicated to the Saint aforesaid; "hospital or termoe in O'Cane's country;" "McCan's country" in 1605, etc., etc.

or McCahans. The Calendar of State Papers for 1604 corroborates the latter account, defining the Braskelagh as "otherwise McCan's country."

There is a long contract given in the Appendices of Clan Donald, II., 768-770, between Donald Macdonald of Glengarry and Donald Macdonald of Clanranald in 1616. The latter is described in the instrument as Donald McAllane VcEan, also VcEane, and when Johne and Rorie are mentioned the last name is plural— VcEanes: they are of the family of Ilandterim. "Ye honoll persones under writtin" are "allwayes of guid mynd and intensioun that his maties peas be observit" . . . Each binds himself that he will "in na tyme cuming harme skaithe trubill molest nor oppres" the others . . . "under ye paine of four thousand punds toties quoties." And after VcEane's signature is the note: "above written with my hand at ye pen led by ye notar." Similar remarks were often added to old documents, as the hand was generally more expert in wielding the claymore or the Lochaber axe. In the contract we find VcEan five times, VcEane thirteen times, and VcEanes three times.

Among the Special Inquisitions, (a Section of the *Inquis. ad Cap.*, etc.), there is reference in 1621, to Joneta Buchanane, wife of John Mackene in Ballaconochie, and co-heiress of John Buchanane of the same place, her maternal uncle ("avunculi").

Of the Macdonalds of Benbecula, the first was Ranald fourth son of Allan IX. of Clanranald, called Raonull MacAilein 'ic Iain, about 1625, and the family extended into the 19th century. (Clan Donald, III., 277).

In 1627 Mariota and Joneta McKeane are mentioned in the Special Inquisitions, as co-heiresses (hæres portionaria) of their uncle James Harvey, formerly surgeon to S. D. N. [Our Sacred Lady] the Queen [Henrietta-Maria]. It may be stated in passing, that the same Joneta was heiress in 1647, of Mariota Trotter, her mother.

And in 1628, under the heading Forfar, Robertus McKein is described as the heir of Andrew McKein junior, his brother, in one-half ["in dimidia parte"] of 16 librates of arable land called Clayhalf, in Montrose: E. 18s. 9d.; land in St. John's croft . . . E. 16s. 9d.; in Clayhalf and Quhytberriecroft, in The Sandhalf, A. E. 12d. N. E. 4s.

The Inquis. in Off. Rot. Can. Hib. makes mention in 1631, of Eliz' Mageon, (which is essentially McKeon), as the wife of Maur' McObikin Fitzsimons of Knitagh. McCans, O'Cahans, O'Caanes, McDonills, McDonnells, and McKegans spelled in a variety of ways, appear also.

In the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, a "Chartour for the fishing" may be found in Vol. V., according to which, Charles I. in 1631, by letters patent, ordains "ane Societie" with certain liberties and privileges in his Majesty's dominions. The charter, though very quaint, is too long to quote, but in the list of names there occurs a williame mekene.

According to the *Inquis. ad Cup. Dom. Reg. Ret.*, in 1632 John McKean, merchant, of Edinburgh, heir of Janet Bartane, his mother, was seized of a tenement in said burgh. E. 5m[arks].

Browne intimates that it was about 1634 that the Clann Mhic-Iain Dhuin, dependents of Lord Lorn, took part in a cattle-rieving expedition. It is possible they were MacIans of Ardnamurchan, though the probability is that the latter men affiliated with the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald, their neighbors and fellow-members of Clan Donald. (History of the Highlanders and Clans).

In 1638 the *Inquis. etc.*, states that Joneta Patersone, spouse of Robert McKean, furrier ("pellionis") of Edinburgh, heir of Thomas Patersone, merchant, and oldest lawfully born son of William Patersone, merchant, his brother,—had tenements in Edinburgh. E. 3s. 4d.

Turning aside for a moment to London, we find in the Calendar of State Papers, that in 1640, Richard Makin, an old servant of King James, [and possibly brought with him from "The land o' cakes and brither Scots"), petitions the King that Robert Wood, "your cormorant-keeper," has long owed him £633 and more for promise of that position, but has given it to another. According to the Domestic Papers for this year, Robert R-cd writes to Thos [Secretary?] Windebank that he does not remember that he ever saw any resignation of Robert Wood to Mr. Makin, but two parchments concerning the business, had not been signed by the King. The remarkable apparent office of "cormorant-keeper" might set some persons to wondering whether there was an English "sport" in the waters parallel with that of fal-

conry in the air, coursing on land, etc.; but probably the word above is a misprint for commorant, and the office was therefore that of keeper of some residence or palace in the absence of royalty.

Among the Bards of Clan Donald, a certain John the Stammerer may be mentioned with MacIains, as his patronymic contained no fewer than three, it being Iain MacDhomhnuill 'ic Iain 'ic Dhomhnuill 'ic Iain Aluinn: he apparently lived from about 1640 to 1710. It is said, probably without truth, that he could neither read nor write, but that his productions were written by another, as a wonderful memory imparted them to him. Charles II. made him poet laureate in Scotland with a salary of £100 sterling a year, 'which the niggardly Scottish Exchequer reduced to £100 Scots.' (Abridged from Clan Donald, III., 570–575).

In 1643, the *Inquis.* ad Cap. Dom. Reg. Ret. states that in Dumfries, (which, however, is in the Lowlands), John McKewne was heir of John McKewne his grandfather ['avi''], to part of church and town lands in Duriadeir. E. 10s.

The same work in 1644 resumes that Matheus McKainie (or McKame) is heir of Andrew McKainie, his father [mentioned as McKaine in 1601] to the lands of Barnald or Barnale in the island of Bute. "E. 23s. 4d."

In the sixth volume of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, at "Edinburgh the 15 of Apryle 1644," we find that: "The Convention of estates ordaines the gnall of the Artellerie to delyver out of the publict magazen To Sir Williame Cochrane of Coudoun for the vse of the srefdome of air Ane thousand muskettis and bandelieris* tuo thousand weight of matche And ane thousand weight of ball The said Sr. Williame assigneing to the generall of the artellerie and his deputtis the contract whereby Alexander Maxwell and James McKeane [indexed Macean (Mackean)] are bund to delyver to him at Leith ane thousand muskettis and bandelieris and tuo thousand weight of matche betuix [this date?] and the sevent of May And als giveing band that if the merchantis faile That he sall pay the said gnall. of the artellerie and his deputtis The pryce thereof at that day for the vse of the Publict."

^{*} A bandoleer was a leather belt and case for the ammunition of musketeers.

In 1645, (viii Martii), the Acts Parl. Scot. mention Robert Mackeane, Burgesse of Edinburgh, as a member (grouped with the Barons) of the following Committee: "The Estates of Parliament now conveened . . . do hereby nominate, authorize and appoint the persons following . . . As ane Committee of Parliament for Inbringing and distributing of moneys, and for regulating of the publike Accounts and Burdens of the Kingdom, . . . To consider and try the yeerly rent and worth of the lands and estates of forefaulted persons, . . . and to do every thing thereanent as might best clear the trueth, . . . To consider and try the rights and securities to have been given in to them by the Ladies and wives of the forefaulted persons, with their supplications, craving the benefit of their rights . . . That thereafter sick course might be tane concerning the samine . . . Therefore the Estates of Parliament : . . grants . . . To the Committee of Estates now nominate, With power to them or their Quorum foresaid, to do every thing thereanent, as they shall think expedient and most usefull for the Publike in the same manner as the Parliament might have done if they were sitting," etc., etc.

This Rob: Mackeane is also mentioned as one of the two Commissioners of the "Burrowe of Edinbrughe;" and in 1648 he was a member of a Committee nominated to consider the "great and imminent dangers threatning the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and authoritie, Monarchicall Government, the peace of this Kingdom, and union betwixt the Kingdomes, from Papists, Malignants and Prelats, and from the prevalencie of Sectaries and their adherents now in Armes:" etc., etc. The last probably refers to one of the Covenants.

Furthermore, the General Index to the Acts Parl. Scot. gives several entries about Robert MacKean, but the details do not seem to be supplied; possibly portions of Vol. VI. are missing. The Index implies that he was in Parliament for Edinburgh in 1645; gives two references to his presenting a petition in behalf of the burgh in that year, and two more that his conduct is to be inquired into before he is allowed to sit in Parliament.

The same work contains in 1661, a long and circumstantial account of certain misdoings in 1649, of a number of persons, among whom truth compels us to admit that several McKeans

of various spellings were included. The specification of this raid occupies about four and one-half folio pages, and for quaintness and showing the canniness of the Scot, it is extremely interesting; we will only make the following extracts, however: "Act and Decreit in favours of Thomas McKenzie of Pluscardin Against Mcachan, Mcgilreoch Mcalaster & others

ANENT the supplication and lybell given in to his Maiesties Commissioner his grace and Estates of Parliament be Thomas McKeinzie of Pluscarden Against [many names besides] Donald M^cean vic illi glas ther, [there, i. e., of the last place mentioned (Stron in this case)], Donald Mean more Vc govan in Clun, Ewyn Mccewn tailyeour ther, . . . Duncan Mckean vc condachie in Corinach, . . . Johne Mccodachie mcean . . . in Crathimore, . . . Johne Mcdonald vc ean ther, Johne McDonald ve ean angus in Crachiecroy, Alaster McWilliam ve ean ve ewin in Blargiemore, . . . Dougall Mccoill vc can ther [in Cluny], . . . Johne Mean . . . ther [in Gask], . . . Donald Mean ve finlay in Tullochronbie, . . . ffindlay Mean . . . in Garvamore, Archibald Mcean . . . in Garvamore . . . Ewin Mcean . . . ther [in Muchgull], Ewine Mccean . . . in Muchgull, . . . Donald Mewyn Meanyre ther, [of Purie?] . . . Shewing that the fornamed persones defenders [defendants] in the moneth of Junij 1649 robbed and destroyed the supplicant and his tennents in the lands of Pluscarden without any order or power from any Authority and long after the supplicant had ended his capitulation with Leivt Genall [Lieutenant-General] David Leslie which wes approven by the estats of Parliat and wes liveing in peaceable and quyet maner. Wherby the persewer was damnified in above the summe of fourtie thousand pund scots as the availl and pryce of the goods & others vnderwritten by & attour the excressent proffeits thairof in maner after mentioned vizt Inprimis ther wes robbed & away taken violently be the fornamed persons defenders upon the first second third fourt & remanent dayes of June or ane or other the yeer of God 1649 . . . the number of nyntie four labouring oxen, some blak, others branded, broun coloured &c. . . . ilk ane of them worth tuenty pund scots overhead, . . . Item the excressent proffeits of the said oxen which they wold have been worth to the persewer if they had not been violently robd as said is be

the space of twelve score work dayes in the yeer at three shilling four pennies for the work of ilk ox per diem extends in the year for the saids whole four-score fourtein oxen To the sume of ffyve thousand sex hundreth and fourty merks inde since they were robd now be the space of eleven yeers and sex moneths or therby to the summe of sextie four thousand eight hundreth and Sextie merks money Item . . . ane hundreth & threttein milk kyne with calves of the culours forsaids . . . Item . . . Item more the said kyne would have yielded the proffeits vnderwrittin viz ilk second year a Calve for ilk kow Extending to ane hundreth and threttein calves Wherof the second halff preserved for store and breiding and the other calve for sale or slaughter Extending . . . Item the other calves . . . in the yeer 1653 would have proven milk kyne and so would have been worth tuentie punds the peice . . . Item the milknes thairof at ten merks the peice ut supra [as above] yeerly the yeers 1657. 58. 59 & 60 extending the saids proffeits to the sum of . . . Item . . . ffiftie tuo one yeer old stirks whereof tuenty quoves and thirty tuo oxen stirks estimat to four punds the peice overhead, . . . And siclyk the saids stirks within three years thereafter would have been drawing-oxen in the year 1652 and then thair work would have been worth . . . Item . . . nyn English mears . . . Whairof three whyt red framed, . . . tuo duplin grav . . . one mirk gray . . . another red sand colored whyte faced . . . and another blak . . . Item the saids mares wold . . . had yielded . . . ane foll every yeer being nyne foals which at three yeers old would have been worth . . . Item . . . in maner abovespeit [above specified] one hundreth threescore tuo goats . . . with ane Buck . . . Item the proffeits of the saids goats being one hundreth threscore tuo kids yeerly . . . Item four sheip . . . the wooll and fleice of ilk ane of the said sheip . . . Item . . . the insight & plenishing of his house such as pots pans bedding and other houshold stuff . . . eight ells of plaiding at tuelff shelling the ell . . . a sword worth eight pund scots . . . his domicills . . . With coat & trews & shoes . . . with four pair of lining sheits . . . ten elnes of tartan at threttie shilling the elne . . . tuo sute of cloaths . . . tuo gouns with pittiecoats conforme with weiring linings worth one hundreth pund scots. Item tuo English hats the one blak the other gray worth ten pund the peice with a gold string worth eight punds . . . three fether beds three bolsters & sex cods . . . ane boll of ry . . . fyve sirlots of malt broune in aill . . . His Maiestie and Estates of Parliament Decernes and Ordeans the whole persons defenders abovenamed To make payt and delyverance . . . of the summe of fourty thousand pund seots money . . . the number pryces availls & proffeits of the saids goods proven by the oath . . . conforme to the laws and practick of this Kingdome in all such caces of spuilyie."

If these unfortunate Scotsmen had to pay, among other imaginary items, for the prospective milk which would have been yielded by eventual cows which would have been developed from calves yet unborn, it is no wonder that they sometimes showed distaste for the law.

Another Macdonald Bard, besides the one already mentioned, but with two Iains in his name, was known patronymically as Iain Dubh MacIain 'ic Ailein. He was born about 1650, was a prolific writer of songs and ranks high among the Gaelic bards. (Abridged from *Clan Donald*, III., 575, 576).

The Special Inquisitions (ad Cap. Dom. Reg. Ret.) note that in 1656, Rorie McAlister McEan Oig was "heir maill" of Alexander Makean Oig, his father. [The repetition of "Oig" perhaps implies a younger branch of the Makean family, or that Rorie was the youngest son of Alexander who was the youngest son in the generation before].

Donald Macdonald I. of Aberarder, alias MacInnes Vic Ean Duibh of Invervudden lived about 1659; the family existed towards the end of the 19th century. (Clan Donald, III., 442).

In 1661, in Scotland, there was passed an "Act & Decreit in favours of Jeane Countes [s] of Annandale [and Viscountess of Stormonth] against the tennents and occupyers of the tuentie pund land of Lochmaben." Among other names are those of John Mckean in Greinhill and James Mckein ther [in Hietae]. The lady complains that the "persons possessors of the saids lands presuming vpon want of law & justice Doth altogether refuise to mak payment to the supplicant of her rents as heirtofore they have done... Wherby the Supplicant is frustrat of her aliamentarie subsistence"... [On the other hand the

defendants produced] "ane warrand or order vnder the hand of King James the sext of the date the tuelff day of July 1592 Wherby his Maiestie ordaines the keeper of the Castle of Lochmaben to desist and cease from molesting pointing and vseing violence against these complainers withinwrin Bot to suffer them peaceablie to occupy their roums and possessions without any trouble & impediment Together with ane other order superscryved 'Rex' and subscryved 'James' of the date the [blank] day of [blank] 1602 yeers Beareing these words" [in short, that the poor tenants of Hietae, Greenhill, etc., were to pay no duty nor service "further nor they and their predicessors were in vse to pay." Parliament, however, having heard, seen and considered the case, decided in favor of the complainant, specifying among other particulars]: "The said James Mekean ther for his occupation of the saids lands possest be him the said terme of witsunday 1658 fiftein punds More be him for his occupation thairof yeerly the saids yeers threttie punds . . . The said John Mckean ther for his occupation of that parte of the saids lands possest be him yeerly the saids yeers Tuentie punds."

There was also passed in 1661, an "AcT and Decreit in favours of Murdo McClean of Lochbowie against John McAlaster Roy alias Campbell & others

Anent the criminall lybelled sumons raised and pursued befor our Soverane Lord and estates of Parliament at the instance of Murdo Mccleane of Lochbuie and Lauchlane Mcclean of Kalchellie for themselffs and in name and behalff of their kin freinds tennents & followers . . . against" [sundry and divers persons mentioned, and setting forth that although it had been declared to be treason to murder our Lord's lieges] "Nevertheles the saids defenders all boden in feir of warre with guns swords bowes dorliches culvirines pistolls and other weapons invasive came under silence & cloud of night to the lands of Glengarristill belonging & perteaning to the said Murdoch Mcclean of Lochbowie And ther in the yeer of God 1647 and in ane or other of the moneths of the said yeer The saids defenders most cruellie & barbarouslie murthered . . . Donald Mcangus vic ean . . . tennents & servants to the said Murdoch Mcclean all liveing quyetlie and peaceablie at thair oune homes exerc[is]eing thair lawfull callings and vocations." [Parliament having repeatedly

summoned the defendants, and they proving contumacious and not compeirand] "ordaines them to be declared rebells and put to the horne and all their moveable goods to be escheit & inbroght to his Maiesties vse for thair contemption," etc.

We regret to find that in the same year, among "certain prisoners incarcerate within the tolbuith of Pearth," there was one Donald Mcean vean, "for alledged breaking & perturbing of his Maiesties peace." It was granted that all the prisoners should be put "to ane dew and legall tryell, and to execute iustice against them for their rextive crymes alledged comitted be them in maner forsaid." How Donald expiated the alleged crime of perturbing the peace of the somewhat hilarious "Merry Monarch," Charles II.,—is not recorded.*

The Inquis. (Generales) ad Cap. Dom. Reg. Ret., mention in 1661, Margaretta McKean, heiress of David McKean, merchant of the burgh of Montrose,—her father.

As h is considered a mere aspirate in Gaelic names as in those of other languages, we may note the circumstance that in 1662, in a very formidable "AcT containing some Exceptions from the Act of Indemnitie" by Charles II., is included "John Mchans

But that iconoclast Fitz-Gerald, in his generally charming Stories of Famous Songs, tells us too much about this one (II. 111–116). We are not sure that the older McKeans have been sung by name in immortal verse; Aytoun's Widow of Glencoe speaks of MacDonald instead of MacIan, and the same is true of Campbell's Pilgrim of Glencoe; Scott's Massacre is impersonal; the "beautiful poem" by Angus Macdonald, on the massacre of Glencoe, is, we presume, in Gaelic; as is also one of the songs "floating among the old people in the Glen [1883], and composed upon the Massacre of Glencoe shortly after the event." (Records of Argyll, 428). In the Scottish Pastoral of 1568, called "Robin and Makyne," (Percy Reliques of Ancient Poetry, or the collections of Allan Ramsey and George Bannatyne), the love-sick maiden, afterwards so scornful, and who reminds Robin that "The man that will not when he may, Sall have nocht when he wald,"—is probably not a McKyn, but a Mal-kin, i. e., little Mary.

^{*} If a digression is allowable, it may be stated that in this volume (VII. of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,) there is an item which should interest every lover of good Scottish song. In 1667 there was appointed for the sheriffdom of Nithisdale, a certain Robert Lawrie of Maxweltoun; a happy lover has been supposed to sing:

[&]quot;Maxwelton's braes are bonnie, Where early falls the dew, And it's there that Annie Laurie Gave me her promite true."

tanner ther [in Wigtown] sex hundth pd." The reasons for fining John £600, and others in various sums, are numerous;—perhaps they may be summed up in the having "Assist the murderer [Cromwell] in his Usurpation to the Royall Throne ... and sacrificed their homage and alledgeance to that sword he caried in his hand smoaking with the blood of that glorious Martyre [Charles I.] their oune Native Leidge Lord and King." If these fines are paid before a certain date, the persons named will obtain full pardon; if not, their estates shall be taken for His Majesty's use, etc.

In 1662, in the County Antrim, Ireland, we learn from the *Inquis. in Off. Rot. Can. Hib.*, that "The said Owen McEdmond O'Neile did, in his life time, sell and convey the premisses [in Bally-Taunaghmore and Drumkeerin and —allshiny] unto Glesny McKaine, clarke, and his heires, upon condition of redemption and payment of 311.—The said Glesny did, in the year 1641, engage in rebellion, whereby the premisses became forfeited."

A couple of English items may be culled from the Calendar of State Papers. In 1665(?) Capt. Angus Mackany (whose first name proclaims him a Scotsman, and whose last has been seen to be equivalent to Mackaine),—petitions "For supply in time of need: has served His Majesty [Charles II.] in the wars, but his wounds have brought a palsy and he cannot work." In 1666 the place of Yeoman of the buttery became void by the death of John Mackune.

The lands of Uthred or Uthried McKean are mentioned in some old document of 1672, the title of which the compiler has apparently lost.

Donald McEachan in South Uist witnessed a contract between Macdonalds of Clanranald and Glenaladale in 1674. (Clan Donald, III., 658).

It has been suggested that the emigration of William McKean of Argyleshire to Ireland, thought to have taken place about this time, may be explained by his finding it difficult to remain in a neighborhood where the people had changed their religion. For Macleay's Rob Roy and his Times states that "At the accession of James [the Second, which was in 1685], the people of Abertarf were wholly Protestants; but Macdonald of Sleat, descendant of the lord of the isles, having also relinquished his

principles to gratify James, upwards of forty families, chiefly Macdonalds in Skye, and the adjacent districts of Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, Sunart and Ardnamurchan, followed the example of their chief, and had the same power, it would appear, over the consciences, as they possessed over the services of their vassals."

In the Inquis. ad Cap., (subdivision de Possessione Quinquinnale), there is reference to Gulielmus and Joannes McKeand in 1686, "nuper ærarium et nuper balivum,"—late coppersmith (?) and late bailiff, respectively, of Wigtown; who, with others, being sworn, say "magno sacramento interveniento,"—that Master William Gordon, Master William Ferguson, etc., are lawful possessors of certain lands. [Some say that Magister denotes a Cleric; others that it is the title of the eldest son of the chief, or of the eldest brother if the chief has no son].

The sufferings undergone by the MacIan-MacDonalds of Achtriachtan and Inneriggan in the Massacre of Glencoe, Feb., 1692, and temporary protection from arrest, etc., are mentioned in Section III.

The benevolence of Alastair Ban MacIain Ic Uisdein, tacksman of Heiskir, etc., North Uist, in furnishing a galley full of meal for the suffering Glencoeman in 1692, has also been alluded to in the appropriate place.

The MacKains, MacKeans or MacKeands of Elgin are descended from the MacIains of Ardnamurchan, one family of that house at least having settled in Morayshire, and several members afterwards becoming merchant burgesses of Elgin, the first perhaps about 1700. (Clan Donald, III., 553–5).

In Volume X. of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, and in the year 1701, there is a six-page "RATIFICATION of a Contract betwixt the Burghs of Glasgow and Dumbartoun anent their rights & privileges to the river of Clyde;" but it only interests us because among other names mentioned, is included that of James Mackean, one of the "persons of the Common Council of the said Burgh" [of Dumbarton].

In the Appendix to the same volume, and in the same year, appear several addresses to Parliament, more or less largely signed, and containing a curious mixture of religion and trade. The address from the "Shyre of Dumbartoun" bears, among

other names, that of Thomas McKean of Camsmawn. It sets forth that certain "misfortuns and other callamities which of late hath befallen us [were due to] the displeasure of the Almightie God for the grate immoralities that everie whair abound . . . to the dishonor of God and our hollie Religione and debauching the spirits . . . of the people. May it tharfor please . . . Parlement to take some effectuall course for crubing of vice . . . maintaining the poor . . . and for the incouradgment of our manufactories at home and carying on our trade abrode with advantage. And particularlie to lay on such impositions on French wyne, and brandie, as may be as effectuall as a prohibitione ay and whill we be allowed to export our herings to France . . . and that all wolen and silke manufactorie from England be prohibited" . . . etc.

Among the numerous signatures to the petition of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow, January 9, 1701, we find that of William McKeowne "The Address . . . Sheweth, That . . . wee will not be able to subsist in this place, under our present Taxes or Stents considering our extraordinary losses dureing the late warr. May it therfor please . . . Parliament to make such lawes as your wisdomes shall think fit, for the securitie of the Protestant Religion and maintaining the Presbeterian Church Government as it is now established by law, the incouradgement of piety and vertue, the suppressing of iniquity & vice and to assert our Companys right to our Collonie of Calledonia in which so great a pairt of our stock is imployed, and to give such incouradgement to our manufactures at home that our poor so very numberous may be imployed, and to discharge or discouradge commerce with these Nationes that refuse our herrings & others the product & manufacture of this Natione & to relive us of unnecessary Stents & Taxes, And your Petitioners shall ever prav."

A work which we have not seen,—The Paper Register of the Great Seal, 1590-1707, is said to contain the pedigrees of such Scotsmen as served in European armies other than the British.

Among the names on the Judicial Rental of Sir Donald Macdonald's estate of North Uist in 1718, are the following: Angus McIaian, Patrick McEanduin, Don. McIespick vic ean, Don. McCoil vicean vuy, Finlay Mcean, John McEan Vayne, Rory McOil vice-

anduy, John McOil vi^cean vic uinlay, Annable McEan vic illimartin; with lists of places, the money rent generally in merks or \pounds Scots, and the rent in kind, generally of vict[uals], b[utter] and meal; also in ells of plaid or blanket. (Clan Donald, III., Appendices, 659–662).

About 1730, Margaret, daughter of the first Macdonald of Sartle married Alexander Macdonald of the Ardnamurchan family of MacIan. "This branch probably migrated to the friendly territory of the kindred clan Uisdein, when adverse fortune, coupled with Campbell machinations, rendered their native country unsafe." The son of this couple, Somerled Macdonald, was a Captain in the British Legion, "and greatly distinguished himself in the first American War." He married a second wife at the age of 94, and left three children of this marriage; he died in 1839, aged 106. (*Ibid.*, III., 532).

Roderick Macdonald, V. of Camuscross and Castleton, about 1734–1790, was known as Ruairidh MacIain, his father's name being John. (*Ibid.*, III., 520–522).

In 1748 an Act was passed by the British Parliament, abolishing the "Heritable Jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs," *i. e.*, the Clan system. This is said to have produced the emigration between 1763 and 1775, of twenty thousand Highlanders. Another exodus followed between 1810 and 1850, owing to lands being "cleared" for sheep-farms, deer-runs, etc. (Adapted from What is my Tartan?).

Dr. Samuel Johnson made his "Tour of the Hebrides" in 1773, and MacLean has noted an amusing incident which may be condensed as follows: MacLean of Lochbuie finding that the Doctor was related neither to the "Johnsons" of Ardnamurchan nor those of Glencoe, exclaimed that he must, in that case, be illegitimate! (Hist. of the Clan MacLean). The sesquipedalian reply of "The Great Bear" is not set forth.

In reference to the view of Loch Achtreachtan, it may be stated that in the *History of the Camerons* and that of the *Clan Donald*, there are several allusions to MacDonalds of the spot illustrated, and who were Cadets of the MacIans of Glencoe. The former authority states that Donald Cameron of Inversilort, married Helen, daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Achatriachtan, Glencoe, with issue eight sons; and Helen, the sixth

child of Ewen Cameron of Glenlevis, married, early in the last century, Adam Macdonald of Achtreachtan, Glencoe, with surviving issue, John Cameron, Isabella Jane and Jane Fraser.

Also, about 1813 there were certain Misses MacDonald of Achtreactain, who were great-granddaughters of a Lady Glenlevis of whom the following condensed account of a romantic incident may be allowable. After Culloden, the Mrs. Cameron in question took refuge in a cave, her house having been burnt by the troops of the Duke of Cumberland, "The Royal Butcher," but was discovered. She refused to tell where she had con-



LOCH ACH-TREACHTEAN, -GLENCOE.

cealed some old silver plate, but one of the soldiers observing that she evidently had something of value in the bosom of her dress, cut the latter with the point of his sword, thereby wounding her infant son in the neck,—for he was her hidden treasure. History of the Camerons, 392, 3). Achatriechatan has also been mentioned in the Petition of John McDonald of Glencoe, in 1695.

"Other McKeans" of later date in Europe seem few and far between, and their records perhaps are not of sufficiently striking importance for us to try the patience of our readers any further.

Of Thomas McKean, The Signer, Member and President of

Congress, Governor of Pennsylvania, etc., who died in 1817, we need not write, after the minute and admirable account by Mr. Roberdeau Buchanan, already referred to, and the copious extracts in the *McKean Genealogies*, but we will take the liberty of presenting his portrait here, so that some more of his countrymen may become familiar with the features of this eminent American.



Tho M. Freak

The compiler will rest from his labors, but not from lack of material:—it seems as if "Notes" which might be found suitable, spring from all manner of sources, and promise to do so almost without end, while his eldest son has persisted in sending on tempting discoveries, regardless of the injunction: "Hold! Enough!" The compiler would suggest to persons who contemplate a history of Kanes, O'Canes and other families whose

names resemble those forms, that they could not do better than consult the *Annals of Loch Cé* for records of the O'Cathains; and any one in search of a picturesque subject could find it in Randal McDonnell of Antrim, in some of the other volumes quoted in these Notes.

Industrious workers with moderate means wishing to bring into one view a list of modern "sons of John" in the United States and other countries, with brief mention of the first name, address and occupation, might begin work at low charge in a curious and little visited collection of books in New York, known as Trow's Directory Library; or, if unable to work there personally, can have notes taken by the Assistants there. These lists could also be supplemented by examination of many long catalogues of names in permanent records or in periodical publications.





GLOSSARY.

In this connection, a few of the differences between Scottish and English writings will be given, as they may assist some of our readers:—and may be used for the participial termination ing, also for ant; es or is for the mark s of the plural; i for j, or vice versa; it for ed in verbs and participles; oun for on; qu for w; u for oo; u for v in old print, English as well as Scotch; y for th, and z for y; (the two last from their resemblance to Anglo-Saxon forms of letters). Uniformity of spelling in names or words, is exceptional; and punctuation in the originals, is generally conspicuous by its absence. As to true Scottish words which are not defined, Jamieson's and other dictionaries will be found useful; see also specimen in Appendix.

Abbay, abbey.
Abovespeit, above specified.
Abown writtin, above written.
Abowven expremit, above expressed.
Abrichis, plural of name Abrich.
Acht, Eighth.
Adhibited, attached.
Adminiculating the probation, confirming the proof.

Aduise, advice.
Aduocat, advocate.
Advertisement, notice.
Advysing of the probation, considering the proof.
Aeyr, heir.
Afald and indowtit, sincere and undoubted.
Aganis, against.
Aill, ale.

Air, Ayr, also heir.

Airis, heirs; also oars.

Airt and pairt, accessories and participants.

Aits, oats.

Als, also,

Als and alse, as.

Alsweill, as well.

Alya, allies?

Amitted, stained.

Ane, one.

Anent, concerning, in reference to.

Anobill, noble.

Aperand aeyr, heir apparent.

Apparent aeyr, heir apparent.

Apprevis, approves.

Armourche, Ardnamurchan.

Asolyeit, absolve, assoilzie.

Assegeit, besieged.

Associacns, associations.

Attour, besides.

Autyrise, authorities.

Availl, value.

Awan, own.

Awaytuke, taken away.

Awise, advice.

Awne, own.

Ay and while, always and while.

Aye, ever.

Aythis, oaths.

Bairns, children.

Band, bonds.

Bandelieris, bandoleers.

Bandis instantlie to be maid, agreement immediately to be made.

Bangs, noisy crowds.

Bath, both.

Bayth, both.

Be, by.

Bearing, setting forth.

Beris, shows, bears.

Beseik, beseech.

Beyne, been.

Biorlin, galley.

Birlinn, galley.

Blair, plain.

Bode, an offer of a price, a bid. Bodely aythis, personal oaths.

Bodies, people.

Bodin, announcing, threatening.

Boll, a measure of four or six bushels.

Bonnettis, bonnets, highland caps, helmets.

Bordouris, borders.

Brayach, braw is worthy, excellent.

Breeks, trowsers, breeches.

Breme, fieree, also famous.

Brigancie, brigandage.

Brim, fierce.

Brocht be, brought by.

Broddit aits, sprouted oats.

Broken and brokin men, belonging to a clan broken up, or expelled from a clan, or who had broken the law.

Brook or joyse, make use of or enjoy.

Broune in aill, brewed in ale.

Brudr Jarmē, brother german.

Bund, bound.

Burgess, inhabitant of a burgh, and having full municipal rights

Buttery, storehouse for provisions or wine.

By, contrary to.

Caces of spuilyie, cases of spoliation.

Caption, arrest.

Caution, bail, security.

Cautioner, one who stands security.

Chalmerlane, chamberlain.

Chaptour, chapter,

Chartulary, record of property in a monastery.

Clannis, clans.

Clarke, clerk.

Claymore, a two-handed, doubleedged broadsword.

Cleared, made clear.

Coatt, tabard, herald's coat.

Cod, pillow.

Collegis, colleagues.

Commorant, residence.

Compearand, appearing.

Compeirand, appearing.

Comperit, appeared.

Competent, belonging.

Complenairis, complainers.

Complicum suorum, their accomplices.

Composition, modified payment.

Conquising, conquering.

Contemption, contempt.

Contrar of ye sammyn, contrary of the same.

Convocate, convoked, called together.

Creach, a highland raid.

Credill, cradle?

Crick, a fine.

Croce, cross.

Cropis, crops?

Crubing, curbing?

Culverins, very long pieces of early ordnance.

Cum, come.

Cumand, coming.

Damnified, injured.

Dang, dash.

Dawing, dawn.

Dearg, red.

Decern, decree.

Decreet and decreit, decreed.

Defenders, defendants.

Deid, dead.

De'il, devil.

Delett out, stricken out.

Dempster, an official who repeated the doom or sentence of a court.

Deponed, testified, deposed.

Deputtis, deputies.

Designed, designated.

Deulie, duly.

Deuties, dues?

Deyn of Morwarne, Dean of Mor-

Direct, directed, addressed.

Discovery, finding (in law).

Disorderit, disorderly.

Displayed coatt, official tabard of the herald.

Dispone, grant, dispose of property.

Ditment, diction.

Diuers, divers, several.

Dorlache, dagger; also bag.

Dorlich, dagger.

Double, copy.

Dowble heirof, duplicate or copy of this.

Doubtit, formidable, redoubted.

Doyne, done.

Duellis, dwell.

Duelt, dwelt.

Duplin, dappled.

Durkis, dirks.

Duvege and glenes, Dunevaig and the Glinns.

Dwelland, dwelling.

Edr, Edinburgh.

Elne, ell, the measure, 37 inches Scots.

Ergyle, Argyle.

Eschaiped, escaped.

Escheit, escheat, to confiscate the estate of.

Estaittis, estates.

Euin, eve.

Excressant, accruing.

Expede, hastened, expedited.

Expremit, expressed.

Eycht, eight.

Fader, father.

Farder, further.

Fencible men, men capable of bearing arms.

Far within, far inland.

Fermis, farms.

Fermorer in keatuall, farmer in Keathyale.

Fermour, farmer.

Feu, duty, rent paid for lands held in agricultural service. Fforsamekill, forasmuch (for as mickle).

Find caution, give security.

Folow, attend.

For, as.

Forbears, ancestors.

Forefaulted, forfeited.

Forfaulting, forfeiting.

Forfaulturis, forfeitures.

Fornamed, aforementioned.

Fowk, folk.

Fra, from.

Freris, friars.

Friggotts, frigates.

Frustrat, made void, deprived of. Fuiz, son. (Old French).

Fundin, proving, finding, estab-

Furder, further.

Gaed, went.

Gaeidhel, Gaëls.

Gaiff, gave.

Gailley, galley, large boat.

Galays, galleys.

Gert, caused.

Gillie, servant.

Gin, if, (given that).

Glenes, the Glinns, valleys.

Gnall, general.

Gossiprede, relationship of a spon-

Gowd, gold.

Grite nowmer of his ky, great number of his cows, kine.

Grittar, greater.

Guid, good.

Gyffand, giving.

Hagbutis, harquebusses, heavy hand-guns.

Haif, have.

Hail, whole of, all, entire.

Haill houssis, all of his houses.

Hād, hand.

Handit, handed.

Hatraund, hatred.

Havand, having.

Havelie, heavily.

Hedit, beheaded.

Heigh, high.

Heirschippis, ruin, wrecking of property.

Heritable, capable of inheriting.

Herschip, cattle-raising.

Hes, has,

Hes duelt, have dwelt.

Hethe, has, hath.

Hienes, Highness.

Honoll, honorable.

Horn, horning, put to the horn, requiring payment of fines within a limited time.

Hosting, gathering of armed men.

Hous, house.

Houssis, houses.

Hundreth, hundred.

Ic, 'ic, for vic, son.

Ilk, each, every.

Ilkane, each one.

Impe, (probably \tilde{e}), impend, sus-

pend over.

Incompulsit, uncompelled.

Incuntrey, inland.

Indorsit, endorsed.

Indowtit, undoubted.

Infestimentis, investings with lands.

ngynis, instruments, engines.

Insight and plenishings, appointments, household furniture.

Insulands, Islanders.

Intertenyit, entertained, engaged

in battle.

Intromettit, dealing by an agent

in the property of a principal.

Inver-, a meeting of waters.

Iugment, judgment.

Jarmē, german (relationship).

Joyse, enjoy.

Justiciar, chief justice.

Keatuall, Keathvale?

Kend, known.
Kirks, churches.
Knokferguse, Knockfergus.
Kye, cattle, kine.
Kyn, kindred, kin.
Kynnismen, kinsmen.
Kyth, appear, show.

Laird, lord, proprietor of land, landlord.

La Ruchele, Rochelle Lauchfull, lawful.

Lawborris, security not to injure. Lesematie, leze-majesty.

Lieutenandry, lieutenancy, place of a superior.

Lieges, vassals.

Liffis, lives.

Likelie, well-favored, likely.

Lining, linen.

Lo, lordships.

Locumtenant, substitute, holding the place.

Lybell, declaration.

Lybilled, published.

Lykmaner, like manner.

Lyon deputt, deputy Lion-King at-arms.

Maharaja, a Hindoo great prince.

Macer, macebearer, an officer who
executes the orders of a court.

Mailis and maills, taxes.

Mair, more

Maist, most.

Manrent, homage of various kinds to a superior.

Masterfully, by force.

Maties, majesty's.

Mears, mares.

Menes, purposes.

Mercat, market.

Merk, Scottish mark, about 27½ cents, former value much greater.

Milknes, milkings.

Mirk, dark, murk.

Missive, letter, sent, writing.

Monie, many.

Monrois, Montrose.

More be him, besides.

Moritur, dies.

Morwarne, Morvern.

Murray, Morayshire or Elgin.

Murriones, morions, open helmets.

Nin, Neyn, etc., daughter.

Nocht, not.

Notar, notary.

Nottourly, notoriously.

Nowmer, number.

Obleidge, obligate, bind.

Onis, once.

Otheris, other (plural).

Overhead, per head.

Out, under arms against the government.

Owte, Outer (Isles), The Hebrides.

Pairt, participants.

Pairtis, parts.

Parliat, parliament.

Passand throcht, passing through.

Passit, went, passed.

Payt, payment.

Pearth, Perth. Peasche, peace.

Pees, peace.

Pene, pen.

Pensioun, pension.

Persewed, prosecuted, sued.

Persewer, plaintiff.

Pertenying, belonging to, purtaining to.

Plas, place.

Plenishing, household furniture.

Pnt., present.

Pntlie, duellis, at present dwell.

Poinding, tax of a certain rate per pound.

Practick, practice.

Pranfato, wounding, hurting, (pran and facere).

Prayand, praying.

Presentis, presents.

Presoned, imprisoned.

Principalem, chief.

Probation, proof, act of proving.

Procurator and Procuratour, procton or solicitor.

Promit and Promittis promise and

Promit and Promittis, promise and promises.

Publict, public. Pundis, pounds.

Or, where.

Qr, where.
Qrby, whereby.
Quhair and Quhar, where.
Quhen, when.
Quhome on, on whom.
Quick, pregnant.
Quoye, cow.
Qwhilk, who, which.

Raisit, served, raised.
Red, advice.
Reft, deprived of, bereaved.
Regior, for regiorum (of royal).
Remanent, remaining.
Resett, resetting, ressett; received, receiving.
Reuerend, reverend.
Rewis, lanes? (rues?)
Rextive, respective.
Ruf, roof.

Sa fer, so far.
Sadis, said (plural).
Safties, safety.
Saidis clannis, said clans.
Salbe thocht, shall be thought.
Samine, sammyn, samyng; same (sometimes plural).
Sanctandrois, Saint Andrew's.
Sarkis, shirts.
Sasine, sasyne, seizin, giving legal possession.
Schawes, shows
Schir, Sir.
Schyppis, ships.
Scoir, twenty, a score.

Seannachaid, bard. Sederunt, session (of Parliament). Seill, seal. Seised, seized; seized, invested with possession. Seizin, possession. Sekyrness, safety, security. Semdle, sendle: seldom. Sennachie, bard. Servandis, servants. Severall, individual, separate. Sevin scoir of pundis, seven score pounds. Sext, sixth. Seyf, self. Shealings, shepherds' or drovers' rude huts. Sicklyke and Siclyke, in like manner Sic subscribitur, signed thus.

Simpliciter, simply, absolutely. Sin,' since. Skirl, to shriek shrilly (said of the bagpipe).

Slachter, slaughter.
Sornaris, pl. of sorner, those who obtain food or lodging by threat.

Sowme, sum. Sowrname, surname.

Soytour, shoemaker. Sparwort, canopy?

Speale, special?

Spraig or sprainge, stripe or streak. Spuilyie and spuilying, raiding.

spoiling one of.

Srefdome of air, sheriffdom of Ayr. Stadio, probably for statio, resi-

dence.
Statute, enacted by statute.
Steil bonnettis, steel helmets.

Stell bonnettis, steel helmets Stent, assessment for taxing.

Stirk, heifer.

Straitit, hard put, straitened.

Strength, stronghold.

Strowan, stream, etc., streamy, abounding in streams.

Stuffing, crowding.

Subscribitur, signed, written under. Subscriveing, subscribing, signing. Sumondis, summons.

Supplicant, petitioner.

Supplication and supplicatioun, petition.

Surnawm, surname.

Suthe, truth, sooth.

Swne, son.

Swordis, swords.

Swore, sworn.

Syne, since, afterward.

Tack, tacks, leases, steeding-rooms, farm-houses.

Tacksman, lessee or tenant of a large landed proprietor.

Tairgis, targets, shields.

Takand, taking.

Tane, taken.

Target, shield.

Taxt, contribution.

Tauld, told.

Tayne, the one.

Tent, tainted, also attention.

Teyndis, tithes.

Thair, their.

The Forty-five, the rebellion of 1745.

Thenemyes, the enemy (plural).

Ther, there, at the place last named.

Thereanent, in reference to.

Thesaurer, treasurer.

Thevis, thieves.

Theyme, them.

Tho, though.

Thocht, thought.

Thre, three.

Threidis, threads.

Thrid and thridlie, third, thirdly.

Throcht, through.

Thwa or thre schyppis, two or three ships.

Till, to.

Tint, lost.

Tocher, dower.

Tolbooth or tolbuith of Pearth, the Perth prison.

Toshach, military leader.

Toties quoties, as often, so often, each time (the offence is com mitted).

Toure, tower.

Tract, duration.

Tressone, treason.

Trews, trowsers.

Tua handit swordis, two-handed swords.

Tutor, guardian.

Twetching, touching.

Uaine, green (plaid).

Umquhile, formerly, late.

Unce, ounce.

Unco, remarkably, very.

Underly, undergo.

Under trust, confiding, unsuspecting.

Utheris their collegis, others their colleagues.

Utherwyis, otherwise.

Vastation, devastation. Vc and Vic, son.

Wachis, wages.

Wald nocht compere to folow, would not appear to attend.

Wapenschawings, inspections, weapon-showings.

War, worse.

Ware, wary.

Warrand, authority.

Wear and weare, war.

Weiring, wearing or warring?

Werray, very.

Weschell, vessels.

Whilk, which.

Wicht awise, with advice.

Withinwrin, withinwritten.

Wmquhyill, formerly, late.

Wncoakit, unconstrained.

Wnto, unto

Wrangwise, wrongful.
Wrongously, wrongfully.
Wrychtis, wrights, workmen.
Wryt and Wrytte, writing.
Ws, us.
Wt, with.
Wther, other.

Yair awin, their own. Yair by, thereabouts. Yame, them.
Ye, the.
Yeiris and Yeirs, years.
Yir. presentis, these. presents.
Yis. wryt, this. writing.
Yor, your.
Ys, is.

Zeir and Zeirly, year and yearly. Zour, your.

APPENDICES.

THE NAME DONALD.

Some forms in which the name (Mac) Donald has been written, may be of interest. Donald is said to mean "proud chief," O'Hart says it is from "world and all," in the sense of "mighty;" the Revs. A. Macdonalds say the oldest form is Domvall = Dumno Valdos, "a worldwielder;" a more commonplace derivation is "brown man," or, according to Lower, "brown-eyed."

McChonell*	McCoynell.	McDonell.	McDouevald.
McCoil.	McDaniel.	McDoneuall.	McDouenhal.
McComnaill.	McDhomhnaill.	McDonewaldus.	McDovenal.
McConaill.	McDhonell.	McDonil.	McDovenald.
McConald.	McDofnald.	McDonill.	McDownale.
McConall.	McDolfnal.	McDonivaldus.	McDownill.
McConeill.	McDomhnail.	McDonnalds.	McDufnal.
McConel.	McDomhnaill.	Medonnall.	McDuf-njall.
McConell.	McDomhnall.	McDonnell.	McDuneval.
McConil.	McDomnaill.	McDonnghal.	McDunwall.
McConill.	McDomnal.	McDonnill.	McKonnel.
McConnail.	McDomnaldus.	McDonold.	Mcodonill.
McConnaill.	McDomnall.	McDonuill.	McO'Donnel.
McConnal.	McDompnayll.	McDonull.	McOdonyll.
McConnald	McDonald.	McDonvalle.	McOnell.
McConnall.	McDonall.	McDonwal.	McWhannel.
McConnell.	McDonayll.	McDonyll.	McWhannell.
McConnill.	McDoneill.	McDopnalde.	etc., etc.

The local titles of some MacDonalds.

These are arranged alphabetically: in antiquity the Ardnamurchan and Glencoe families are respectively, 9th and 10th in Clan Donald, but as MacDonalds they are in the 2nd and 3rd generations.

^{*} The occasional confusion of Conaill and Domhnaill is explained in the Annals of Loch Ce, as arising from the aspiration of the first letter of the name "Domhnaill," which is hardly sounded in the pronunciation of the name, and the attraction over, of the c of Mac.

Dalily)

Aberarder. Dalness. Aberchalder. Drimore. Achnancoichean. Dunach. Achtriachtan. Dunnyveg and the' Aird and Vallay. Glens. Antrim. East Sheen. Ardnabie. Fersit. Ardnamurchan. Gellovie. Balishan. Geridhoil in Uist. Balranald. Glenaladale. Barisdale. Glencoe and Cadets. Belfinlay. Glengarry. Benbecula. Glenmore. Bohuntin. Greenfield. Boisdale. Heisker and Skaebost. Bornish. Herraich. Camuscross and Cas-Howbeg and Glenuig. tleton. Inch. Castle Camus. Invercoe. Clanranald. Keppoch. Totscor, Bernisdale Clianaig. Killichonate. Kilmore. Colonsay. Cuidreach. Kingsburgh. Tullieb. Culachie. Kinlochmoidart. Tulloch. Cranachan. Knoydart. Tullocherom. Dalchosnie. Largie (and Largo?). Tynekill. Dalelea! Leek. Waternish.

Lochgarry. Lundie. Macheachan. Milton. Morar. Murlagan. Ostaig and Capstill. Peninuren. Rammerscales. Rigg and Balvicquean. Sanda. Sartle. Scothouse (and Scotus?) Shian. Sleat. Staffa Tirnadrish. Totamurich and

Knock.

etc., etc.

and Scalpay.

RANALD.

Lochalsh.

Some forms of the name entering into the title Clanranald, which Clan became the refuge of some MacIains of Ardnamurchan.

Raghnall.	Rannall.	Reignold.	Rignold.
Ranald.	Ranulph.	Reinald.	Rinaldo.
Ranall.	Ranulphus.	Reinhold.	Rinnell.
Randal.	Raonaill.	Reinold.	Rinnyll.
Randell.	Raoniull.	Reinwald.	Ronald.
Randle.	Raonuill.	Renaud.	Ronall.
Randolfo.	Raonull.	Renyll.	Ronnald.
Randolph.	Reginald.	Reynaldo.	Rynnell.
Randolphe.	Reginaldus.	Reynaldos.	etc.
Randulph.	Regnall.	Reynaldus.	
Ranell.	Regnauld.	Reynold.	
Rannald.	Regnault.	Reynolde.	j

It may mean "strong ruler," "kingly," or "house-[or red-] wolf," according as it is referred to one or other of three alleged derivations, for it appears in Teutonic and Latin forms also.

O'CAHAN. A few variations of this name.

		State of the state	
Cacháin.	Kean.	O'Cahaine	O'Chane.
Cahan.	Keane.	O'Cahan.	O'Kahan.
Caichán.	Keen.	O'Cahane.	O'Kane.
Cain.	Keene.	O'Cahen.	O'Kean.
Caine.	Kyan.	O'Cain.	O'Keane.
Cane.	MacCahan.	O'Cane.	O'Keen.
Gahan.	MacKahan.	O'Canyn.	O'Keene.
Gethan.	O'Caane.	O'Catháin.	O'Keine.
Kane.	O'Caen.	O'Chan.	etc.

Lower gives cain, Gaelic, beloved. Skene considers O'Cane equivalent to Cathan or Chattan. O'Hart says the name is from cath. battle, and an "one who" [joins in it]; also that O'Neill of Tyrone (of the Nine Hostages), is said to be the ancestor of the O'Cathains, and he is held to have been King of Ireland in the 4th century. The de Caens, de Caynes, de Keynes, de Cahaignes, etc., are evidently French and local,—i. e., from places of those names.

MCKEANS (?).

The following Table, compiled from many sources, old and recent, will indicate some of the supposed Gaelic and Celtic equivalents of the patronymic "Son of John," either in meaning or in form. If the various affixes fil, Fitz, O', Vic, etc., and the suffixes son, sohn, zoun, ez, ski, vitch, etc., in different languages, were added, the list might be greatly extended.

McAchen (1, 4).	McAne.	McAny (5).
McAchin (1, 4).	McAnebane (37).	McAuin (11).
McAegan (2).	McAneny? (36).	McAwan (11).
McAhan (6).	McAnn.	McAyne.
McAin.	McAnna (5).	McCachane (1, 4).
McAine (3).	McAnney?	McCaghen (2).
McAkane (1, 4).	McAnroe (18).	McCahan (6).
McAn.	McAntailyour (20).	McCahane (6).

MCKEANS (?)

McCahen (6).	McCown (11).	McEowen.
McCahin (6).	McCoyn (8).	McEvan.
McCahn (6).	McCoyne (8).	McEven (8).
McCahon (6).	McCuean (12).	McEvene (8).
McCain.	McCuen (12).	McEveny (8).
McCaine.	McCughen (2)	McEwan (12).
McCainze (7).	McCuin (12).	McEwen (26).
McCame (22).	McCuinn (12).	McEwin (26).
McCamey (22).	McCune (12).	McEwine (26).
McCan.	McCuney.	McEwing (26).
McCana.	McCunn.	McEwn (26).
McCane.	McCuny.	McEwne (26).
McCaney.	McEachan (1).	McEwoen (11).
McCann.	McEachen (2).	McEwyn, (26).
McCanna.	McEachin (1).	McEwyne (26).
McCany.	McEagan (2).	McGaan.
McCanney (5).	McEaghan (2).	McGachan (1, 2)
McCanye.	McEan.	McGachen (1, 2)
McCanys.	McEanair (13).	McGachin (1, 2).
McCanze (7).	McEancheir (14).	McGahan.
McCanzie (7).	McEandecheir (14).	McGahen.
McCaughan (2).	McEandoyn (15).	McGain.
McCaughen (2).	McEanduy (15).	McGan.
McCavan (8).	McEane.	McGane.
McCavins (8).	McEaney.	McGann.
McCawan.	McEanruig (18).	McGany.
McCeane (9).	McEanvoy.	McGaun (11).
McCewin (12, 26).	McEanwiehts (17?).	McGavin (8).
McCewn, (12, 26).	McEanyre.	McGawen (11).
McCewntailor (20).	McEayne.	McGeachan (1, 2
McChain (10).	McEgan (2).	McGeachin (1, 2)
McChan (10?).	McEgane (2).	McGean.
McChann (10?).	McEgen (2).	McGechan (1, 2).
McCheyne (10).	McEggan? (2).	McGeean.
McCheon.	McEn.	McGeehan (6).
McCiochain (1, 2).	McEnay? (5).	McGeehen (6).
McCoan (8).	McEndow (15).	McGeehin (6).
McCoane (8).	McEnenane (30).	McGeen.
McCon (8, 29).	McEnereogh (18).	McGeeney?
McCone (8).	McEnn.	McGehan (6).
McConn (8).	McEnroe (18).	McGehean.
McCoon (8).	McEoain (11).	McGeiann.
McCoun (8).	McEogain (2).	McGeihen.
McCowan (11).	McEogan (2).	McGein.
McCowane (11).	McEoghain (2).	McGenn.
McCowen (11).	McEoin (32).	McGeon.
McCowin (11).	McEoune.	McGeown (11).
()		().

McGeyann.	McIanvoy (16).	McKanne (5).
McGhan.	McIn.	McKany (5).
McGheen.	McInabrich (17).	McKauny (23).
McGiane.	McIndie (15).	McKavan (8),
McGiann.	McIndoe (15).	McKayn.
McGiehan (6).	McIndow (15).	McKayne.
McGien.	McIndov (15).	McKeachan (1).
McGin.	McInerney?	McKeachin (1).
McGing.	McInery (18?).	McKeagan (2).
O .	McInir (13).	McKeaghan (2).
McGinney? (5).	McInnis? (19).	McKeagnan (2).
	1	McKeand.
McGoane (8).	McInroth (18).	
McGoens (11).	McInroy (18).	McKeane.
McGone (8, 29).	McInrye (18).	McKeanfoyle (16?)
McGouan (8).	McIntaillour (20).	McKeang.
McGoun (8).	McIntailyeour (20).	McKeanna (5).
McGowan (11).	McIntaylor (20).	McKeanne (5?).
McGowen (11).	McInturff?	McKeanoig (24).
McGowin (11).	McIntyn.	McKeany.
McGown (11).	McInvoy (16).	McKeanyeochsoun(25)
McGowne (11).	McIonack (33).	McKechin (1).
McGuan (26).	McIonick (33).	McKechine (1).
McGuane (26).	McIonin (21).	McKechnie (1, 5).
McGuegan (2).	McIonnicke (33).	McKeegan (2).
McGuigan (2).	McIyn.	McKeehan (6).
McGuighan (2).	McJain.	McKeem (27).
McGuine (12).	McJan.	McKeen.
McGuinn (12).	McJeane.	McKeenan (30).
McGun.	McJohn.	McKeener.
McGune (12).	McJonnin?	McKeeny,
McGuown (11).	McJoyn.	McKeeon (6).
McGyn.	McKaane.	McKegan (2).
McHagan.	McKachane (1, 2).	McKegen (2).
McHahan (6).	McKahan (6).	McKeggan (2).
McHain.	McKahin (6).	McKehan (6).
McHan.	McKahn (6).	McKeigan (2).
McHaney (5).	McKahon (6).	McKeigane (2).
McHaon?	McKain.	McKeighan (2).
McHean.	McKaine.	McKeighane (2).
McHegan (2).	McKainie (5).	McKeighon (2).
McHen.	McKainze (7).	McKeigney (5).
McHon (29).	McKainzie (7).	McKein.
McHune (12).	McKame, 22.	McKeine,
McIain.	McKand.	McKeinezie? (7).
McIaine.	McKandy (15).	McKeithen (34).
McIan.	McKane.	McKen.
McIanduy (15).	McKann.	McKena (5).

McKenane (30).
McKenay (5).
McKene.
McKeneya (5?).
McKeneye (5).
McKenna (5).
McKenney (5).
McKenny (5).
McKenroth (18).
McKenyee.
McKenzie (7).
McKeoan (11).
McKeochan (1, 2).
McKeohan (6).
McKeon.
McKeone.
McKeoner.
McKeonyn (21?).
McKeoun.
McKeoune.
McKeowane (11).
McKeowen (11).
McKeown (11).
McKeowne (11).
McKethan (34).
McKeuan (25).
McKeune (26).
McKevaine (8).
McKevan (8).
McKeven (8).
McKeveny (8).
McKevine (8).
McKewan (26).
McKewen (26).
McKewin (26).
McKewn (26).
McKewne (26).
McKewonan? (30).
McKeygan (2).
McKeyhone (6).
McKeyn.
McKeyne.
McKeynie (5).
McKhan.
McKian.
McKianny (5?).
McKichan (1).
arcarection (1).

MCKEANS (
McKichen (1).
McKiegan (2).
McKien.
McKigan (2).
McKigane (2).
McKiggin (2).
McKigin (2).
McKign (2).
McKikan (4).
McKim (27).
McKimm (27).
McKimmie (27).
McKin.
McKinder (15).
McKiney.
McKinn.
McKinney (5).
McKinroth (18).
McKithan (34).
McKoen (11).
McKon (29).
McKone (11).
McKone (11). McKoon (11).
McKoun (11).
McKowan (11).
McKowen (11).
McKown (11).
McKowne (11).
McKowyne? (11).
McKuen (12).
McKuhn (12).
McKune (12).
McKunn (12).
McKyan.
McKygan (2).
McKyn.
McKynna (5).
McKynne (5).
McKynny (5).
McLean? (35).
McMachan (28).
McMachen (28).
McMachin (28).
McMakane (28).
McMakene (28).
McMakin (28).
McMaking (28).

McMechan (28). McMechin (28). McMeekan (28). McMeeken (28). McMeekin (28). McMeeking (28). McMeichan (28). McMeichen (28). McMeikan (28). McMeiking (28). McMichan (28). McMickan (28). McMicken (28). McOine (11). McOne (11, 29). McOnie. McOwan (11). McOwen. McOwenan (30). McOwin (11). McOwine (11). McOwne (11). McOwyne (11). McQuain (12) McQueen (12). McQueeney? McQueine (12). McQuen (12). McQuenn (12). McQuewan (26). McQuhan (6, 26). McQuhen (6, 26). McQuhenze (6, 7). McQuhin (6, 26). McQuhune (6, 26) McQuhyn (6, 26). McQuigin (2, 12) McQuin (12). McQuinn (12). McQune (12). McQuoin (11). McQuown (11). McQuoyn (11). McQuyn (12). McQuyne (12). McQuynn (12)

McMakyn (28).

 McShane (31).
 McUin (26).
 McWaen (11).

 McShawn (31), etc.
 McUine (26).
 McWayne (11?).

 McUeen (12).
 McUny (26?).
 McYeone (11?)

 McUen (26).
 McVcane (28).
 etc., etc.

1. ch is often silent; Kechin is also said to be one of the forms for Hector 2. When not from Eoghain, Owen or John, it is sometimes perhaps from eoghain, a young warrior; but g and gh are often silent, as in Geogheghan Callaghan, etc., so that these names may belong here; the McEgans "may be the clan Aedhagain," but that appears to be simply Hugh-Owen; Eachann is also said to mean a lover of horses. 3. As a female name, this is a form of Hannah. 4. Possibly for McO'Kane, -such combinations were not unknown. 5. McAnna, McKenna, etc., like McAny, McKany, etc.? McKechnie is said to be son of a horseman; McKenna is claimed to be from ionach, a dirk, but under date 1550, we have mention of Makkany of Ardnamurchan, which points to McKane, "the son of John." 6. h being an aspirate or breathing, is negligible in many names. 7. z was often written for v. so that these forms may have been originally the same as McEany, Mc. Keany, etc.; the spellings McCanye, McKenyee, etc., give color to this theory. 8. It may be questioned if these names should be included, as they may be derived from caomhan, a noble person; and yet the v in Dovenald was softened to f in Dofnald, and (with w in some forms), dropped in Donald; besides which, if taken to be forms of McEvan, they have right of entry by meaning, if not form. 9. c hard, like k, though possibly Anglicized in some cases to McSeney, etc.; the list from 1545 to 1604, note h, shows that McCeane is equivalent to McEan, McEane, and, McEwne. 10. Perhaps soft, and pronounced McShane, which, however, also means "son of John." 11. Apparently McOwen, "son of John," though some are claimed to belong to class 8, and McGowan and its corruptions may mean "son of the smith." 12. A few of these are said to be from ceann, a head, but may, occasionally at least, be spellings of McEwan, etc., meaning "son of John;" Queen has been given as equivalent to Sweene, (Norwegian, Sweyn); and Quin is said to be from Irish, Con. 13. Shortened to McNair, McNeir, etc.? 14. Indexed Keir [or Kerr], and would probably now be written with a hyphen,-McEan-Keir. 15. Must be for McKean Dow, the dark. 16. Probably McIan Boy, the yellow (haired?). 17. McIan Abrich? From residence in Lochaber. 18. McKean Roy, the red; one family of McInroy has "a lymphad in full sail sable," in the arms: McEanruig has been corrupted into McHenry, 19. McInnis, McGinness, etc., are also said to be from MacAonghais, or Angus; or else from a word for island. 20. One old Index explains Mcantailyour as "McAn, tailor," but McIntailyeour and McCewntailor also appear, so they may denote marriage alliances, which would now be hyphenated,-McKean-Tailor, etc. Some Camerons were known as MacIntaylors afterwards Taylor, and descended from a celebrated warrior-tailor in the 16th century. 21. These may be quasi English forms of a diminutive, 22. Appear as alternative forms of McCane and McKane, under the dates

1557 and 1601. 23. Probably another name, now spelt McConaughy, Mc-Conichie, etc., and meaning "son of Duncan?" 24. McKean oig would be the younger, or the son; therefore the grandson of Ian, and equivalent in form to O'Cahan, O'Kane, etc. 25. This extraordinary combination seems to mean Mac-Ian-oig-son, i. e., the great grandson of John. 26. McEwan, and see 12. 27. We have noted in 22, that m and n are sometimes interchangeable here, as in other names. 28. Possibly equivalent in some cases to Mc-McKane, - such forms were met with occasionally; the McMahons, etc., probably mean "son of the bear," there was also a Saint Michan. 29. o long. 30. an as a Celtic termination sometimes means an individual, or "one who" (possessed the attribute, etc., expressed in the rest of the name). 31. McShane, Shaen, Shean, Shine, Shawn, etc., are Irish forms of (the son of) John. 32. Eoain equals Hoan or John. 33. Perhaps from ionach, a dirk. 34. th sounded like h. 35. We have seen under date 1411, that Mac-Clean, McLean, etc., was originally MacGilla-Roin, the "son of the follower of (Saint) John." 36. May be from eineach, affability. 37. Bane, yellow (haired?).

AN OLD DOCUMENT.

In Clan Donald there are reproduced several charters and letters which are only a little less mysterious to the ordinary layman than some of the Egyptian papyri recently made familiar to us.

The Washington collection alluded to in our Introduction also contains some interesting reproductions of old writings. We wish we could photograph a certain document among those in the Register of the Great Seal of the Kings of the Scots, and produce it in exact fac-simile, in order that our readers might see a short and much easier specimen of legal writing of the times in question. The reproduction of a copy in script, on the following page, may give some idea of what the genuine student of some ancient documents should be prepared to encounter; and when the writing is on curled, mouldy, torn parchments; in obsolete languages, and in the differing hands of numerous scriveners, each of whom had his peculiarities, "short cuts" and abbreviations in the performance of his more or less perfunctory duties, we may well be grateful for the learning. patience and skill exercised by modern scholars, to give us so many interpretations which can be "understanded of the people."

Our specimen follows, first as in the original, next without abbreviations, and lastly translated into modern legal English.

"Registrom Magni Sigilli Segom Scotorom In Archivis Poblicis Asservatom.

A.D. MCCCVI _ A.D. MCCCCXXIV. (Printed 1814).
Registrum Roberti Primi. Rot. I., 15. Rosburgh.

· Garta Willim Maceoun.

Rottus to Sciat nos dedite goestisse t he plenti barta ñra cofirmasse Witto dão Maceoun diteto t fictli ñro p hogio t Puicio suo decem libratas Pre cu ptin que fil unt Inflame Cnount t Johis de Westoñ i tenemto de Mertoñ. Tenent t hat dão Wittmo t hedibz suis de not t hedibz ñris in feodo t heditate ; libere quiete plenarie t honorifice cu omitz littatibz; comoditatibz aigsiamentis t instis ptinenc suis. ffaciendo inde not t hedibz ñris dãs Willims t hedes sui Puicio debitu t. consuetum tepe bo memo ani Mexi Reg Scoc fidecessoris ñre vitto defuncte. In cui rei to.

First.—Expanding the foregoing to eliminate the old legal contractions, and using modern letters and punctuation, it becomes:

"Carta Willielmi Maceoune.

Robertus [dei gratia Rex Scotorum] et cetera. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse, et hac præsenti Carta nostra confirmasse Willielmo dicto Maceoun dilecto et fideli nostro pro homagio et servicio suo, decem libratas terre cum pertinenciis; que fuerunt Ingerami Cnouut et Johannis de Weston, in tenemento de Mertone. Tenende et habende dicto Willielmo et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate; libere quiete plenarie et honorifice, cum omnibus libertatibus, commoditatibus,

aysiamentis et justis pertinenciis suis. Faciendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Willielmus et heredes sui servicium debitum et consuetum tempore bone memorie domini Alexandri Regni Scotiæ [Regis Scotorum?] predecessoris nostri ultimo defuncti. In cujus rei [testimonio?] et cetera."

Second.—Which, beginning overleaf, may be freely translated as follows:

Register of the Great Seal of the Kings of the Scots; preserved in the Public Archives. A. D. 1306—A. D. 1424.

Register of Robert the First. Roll I., Section 15. Roxburgh-shire.

"Charter of William MacEoun.

Robert, [by the grace of God King of the Scots], etc. Know ye, that we give, grant, and by this our present Charter do confirm to our beloved and faithful the said William MacEoun for his homage and service, ten librates* of land with the appurtenances; which belonged to Ingeramus Knowt† and to John of Weston, in the tenement of Merton. To the said William and his heirs to hold and to have from us and our heirs in fief and heirship; in free, full and honorable quiet; with all their privileges, benefits, easements and lawful appurtenances. The said William and his heirs henceforth rendering to us and our heirs the service owed and customary in the time of the lord Alexander King of Scotland, of good memory, our predecessor lately deceased. In testimony whereof and so forth." [we have caused the Great Seal to be attached?].

As this is one of the first documents in the reign of Robert Bruce, its date can not be far from 1306; it is certainly older than 1329, the end of said reign.

Third.—Those who are in doubt whether Maceoune could be an old form of McKean, are probably correct, and yet they may

^{*}The exact extent of a librate is probably unknown at present; some writers say any amount free (libera) from services to the superior; others affirm that it is so much land that the yearly value of it amounted to nominally one pound (libra) of silver in weight. When it is added that land measurements and pound values differed in Scotland, England and in some shires of each, the uncertainty may be appreciated. See Dove's Domesday Studies and other Works.

[†] This looks like Knut or Canute,— a Danish rather than a Scottish name and probably became Knott in more modern times.

be reminded that the Mac seems evident, though this would be one of the earliest instances of that spelling, ancient documents (Celtic ones at least) being oftener found with "mic," denoting son. (But note Donald McCan, 1305). Passing to eoune, which we would now write Eoune,—critics will remember that every Scottish spelling of a town ("ton" in modern local names) was in old times toun, i. e., oun is equivalent to on. If, furthermore, we conclude that the final e, which is not written but indicated by the mark over the n, was either silent, or was a concession to the ending of a supposed genitive or dative case in the Latin version of the name, we might, if other circumstances did not forbid, feel tolerably assured that Maceoune equals McEon, a spelling of McKean which may be found in old lists, modern directories or other collections of names.

It should be stated however, as possibly bearing upon the name in the foregoing document, that in the Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense [The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham], four bulky octavo volumes in Latin, 1311–16, there is a petition in 1314, of Ralph le Maceon and Emma his wife, relative to lands in Seggefeld; but there again the "le" before this name, (which was also spelt about that period, Macoon, Machun, Macun, Mascun, le Massun and de Mazun), and the persons and lands being in England, indicate a different family in the latter case,—apparently one of those now called Mason.

Before leaving the Charter given above, the subject of abbreviations may be alluded to: a short list of the most common ones occurs in the Introduction to the Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum,* and 130 pages in double-column can be found in Vol. IV. of the Reg. Pal. Dun., just mentioned; but the thorough searcher should be familiar with The Record Interpreter by Chas. T. Martin, (London, 1892), and perhaps with Court Hand Restored, by Andrew Wright.

^{*} Close Rolls, i. e., documents of a private nature, as opposed to Patent or public records.

224 MUSIC.

Music.

The Macdonalds' Gathering has five stanzas of eight lines each; the part which may interest our readers is:

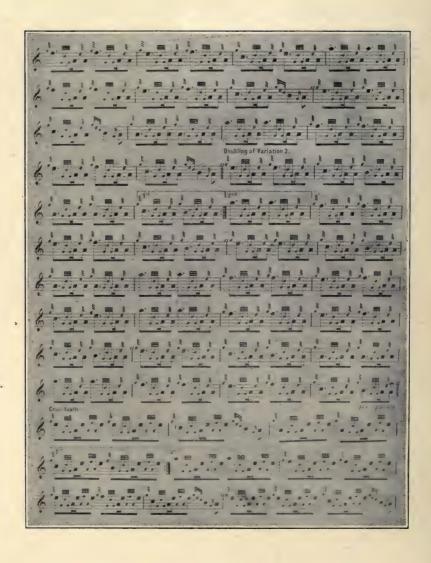
"Gather, brave clan Donuil,
Many sons of might you know;
Lenochan's your brother,
Auchterechtan and Glencoe."

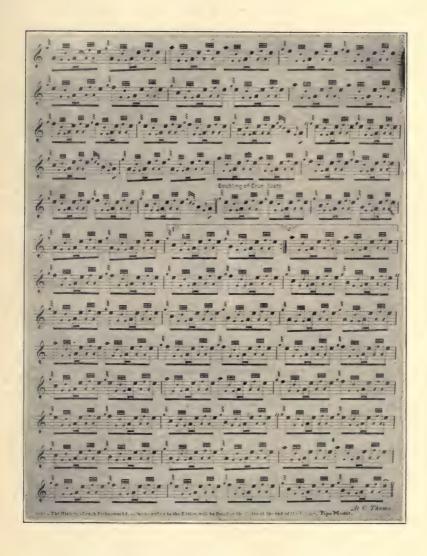
The hereditary bards or pipers of the Glencoe chiefs appear to have borne the surname of Iain Fraoch's mother,—Mac-Eanruig, Anglicized to MacHenry or Henderson. One of them, in the time of Montrose is said to have written a famous March for the Stewart Clan: "We will take the Highway," and known later as The Sheriffmuir March.

There is not much to be said in introducing the following Lament. It is No. 11 in the volume of sixty-one "Ancient Pibrochs" compiled by Aonghas MacAoidh (McKay) in 1838, but the "History" promised at the end of the volume, consists only of a short description of the valley of Glencoe, an allusion to the massacre, and a declension to describe the latter. The air alone is given, without accompaniment, that being supposed to be furnished by the drones, three tubes each producing one sustained note (two small ones tuned a fifth below E of the chanter, and the larger one an eighth): the chanter is the finger-pipe upon which the tune is played. The Gaelic musical term crumlua(th) denotes a finishing, quick movement.



226 LAMENT.



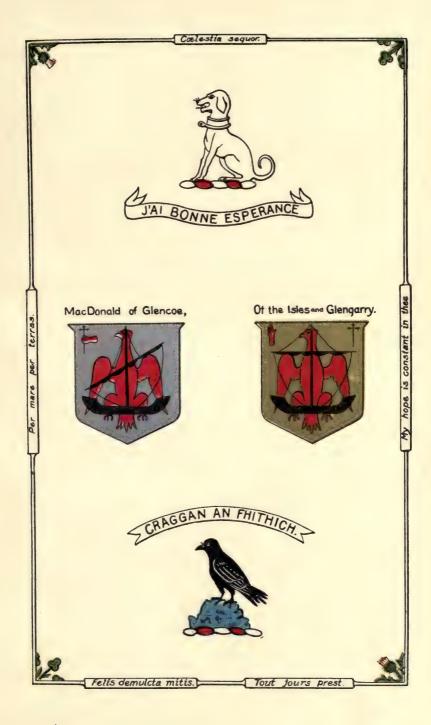


CRESTS, MOTTOES, ARMS, ETC.

A few heraldic data may be found of interest: they are chiefly from MacIan's Clans of the Scottish Highlanders, Fairbairn's Crests, Burke's General Armory, Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, Adam's What is my Tartan? and O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees.

Burke gives the arms of three families of McKeans, one of Edinburgh, one of Scotland and one of England. Fairbairn also gives three crests for McKeans, two Scotch families and one English; they are, a cat, a dog and a talbot (an heraldic dog), each sejant or sitting; with the motto for the last, J'ai bonne espérance (I have good hope). Perhaps the reason for selecting a dog, was an old idea that the name, exclusive of Mc, was from a Gaelic word meaning dog, accepted in its heraldic or noble sense, as representing faithfulness and bravery. This derivation is probably erroneous, though the word kene signifies daring, bold. Our illustration comprises the mottoes of several houses, the bearings of the two indicated, and two McKean crests. We have heard of a McKean of that ilk, (whose surname and the name of the estate were the same), but have no particulars.

MacIan-MacDonald of Glencoe bears: Ar. an eagle displayed gu. surmounted by a lymphad sa. sails furled and rigged ppr. in the dexter chief a dexter hand couped of the second. Crest.—A raven perched on a rock az.; another MacDonald has: on a rock inflamed, a raven sa. Motto over, Cragan an Fhathich,—otherwise Craggan an fhithich, (The raven's crag); another branch has for motto: Sure. The MacDonalds of the Isles, of Glengarry and of Keppoch have coats very similar to the above, but the tinctures or colors, and some minor points, differ slightly: thus the shield is or instead of argent; the lymphad [long-fada] of Burke, (and which in Scottish heraldry is a biorlin or galley), has the yard squared for The Isles, while the others have it "cock-billed;" (a nautical sign of grief and therefore appropriate enough for Glencoe); in the sinister chief a cross crosslet fitchée* of the third for Glengarry, which also has for Supporters,—Two



bears each having an arrow pierced through the body all ppr. Motto: Per mare, per terras, (By sea, by land). The old arms of the Lords of the Isles were: quarterly 1st and 4th, sable, three battle-axes or, 2d and 3d, gules, three biorlins or large Highland boats of antique construction. McDonald of Moydart (Captain of Clanranald) has over the crest (which is a castle, etc.)—My hope is constant in thee, referring to the tradition that Bruce made this avowal to the Lord of the Isles at a crisis in the battle of Bannockburn, (see Scot's Poem); below the shield, the warshout: Dhandeon co Heiragha, or Dhandheoin Cotheir-aidh e, (In spite of all opposition, or In spite of who would gainsay). Some authorities, however, give the McDonald war-cry as: Fraocheilan, (The Heathery Isle), and the March Dhonuill Dhui. Donald of Largie has over the crest, (which is an arm, dagger, etc.), Semper pugnare paratus (Always ready to fight); below the shield, Pro Patria (For Country). He of Dumfries has for motto: I beir the bel, (I am first or leader, I bear the bell). MacDonald of Lockhart has a boar's head erased, and the words: Corda serata pando, (I open hearts locked up), alluding, possibly, to the story of the heart of Bruce (locked in a silver case) being brought back to Scotland after the unsuccessful effort of Douglas to carry it to the Holy Land, and which was done by a Lockhard, who thence assumed the name Lockhart. Other MacDonalds have the mottoes: Pro rege in tyrannos, (For the King against tyrants), and Victoria vel Mors, (Victory or Death). still another, who has for crest the Holy Bible, expanded, ppr., says: Cælestia sequor, (I follow heavenly things). The badge of the MacDonalds, and also of the Glencoe-men, (See entry for 1678), is Fraoch gorm, erica vulgaris, the common heath. McDonnell, Earl of Antrim has the motto: Sero sed serio, (Late, but in earnest). McDonnell of the Glens of Antrim, of the Clan Ian Vohr, Viscount Dunluce, bears for arms: Or, a lion rampant gu., and for crest an arm, etc., in hand a cross crosslet, fitched

For motto, he and MacDonald of Durham have—Toujours

^{*} This cross with a very long and pointed stem, could be used as a walkingstaff, or, being stuck in the ground, was adapted for devotional purposes. Tradition states that a MacDonald adopted it in consequence of his carrying Saint Patrick over to Ireland in a boat: the Saint, however, belongs to the 4th century, while MacDonalds,—under that name at least,—do not appear until long after.

prêt, (Always ready), one branch retaining the archaic spelling: Tout jours prest. O'Hart writes that the MacDonnells of Antrim (Route and Glynnes) went from Ulster, settled in Scotland, where they were generally called MacDonalds (of the Isles, etc.), and some returned to Antrim, and formed alliances by marriage with the O'Neills of Tyrone, the O'Donnells of Donegal, the O'Kanes of Derry, etc. Another MacDonald of Ireland has a talbot's head, az. He of Connaught bears the motto: His vinces, (By these-Conquer), the plural referring no doubt to both the galley and the cross in his arms; the latter device, sometimes called the Cross Calvary, is in Scotch blazonry a cross "degreice," and in English, "degraded,"—both terms being from the French degrés, i. e., with steps,—three, in reference to the Trinity. The MacKains of Elgin, descended from John Mac-Iain of Ardnamurchan, have on their shield a demi-eagle, to which the motto evidently refers: "Le Tout Ne Vaut Pas La Moitié," (The whole is not worth the half). The McKeowns of Ulster have for crest: An arm embowed in chain armor, the hand holding a sword, blade wavy all ppr.

Most of the clans had distinctive pipe-music; some MacDonalds possessing a Gathering, Salute, March and Lament. The Glencoemen retain only the Lament—" Mort Ghlinne Comhann" (Massacre of Glencoe).

The O'Cahan crests are A cat-a-mountain rampant, ppr., and also salient. The cat borne by one of the McKeans indicates another point of connection between the three names mentioned in these Notes. The motto is *Felis demulcta mitis*, (The stroked cat is gentle). And the cat perhaps shows Skene to be right in connecting the O'Cahans with the Clan Chattan and their celebrated motto: *Touch not the cat but [without] a glove.*

Heraldry, however, is as much out of date as Clanship, though the former has furnished many a "wise saw." And a McKean may now, as in auld lang syne, be cheered with the noble motto, even in an alien tongue: I HAVE GOOD HOPE.

POSTSCRIPT.

Having acknowledged indebtedness for literary material used in the compilation of these *Historical Notes*, there remains the pleasure of expressing obligations to the efficient helpers who have worked upon the mechanical portions of the book.

Mr. George Gibson (of Gibson Brothers) is well known for good work in a long career as printer, book-binder, etc.; his manager Mr. Jos. L. Shipley has a happy faculty of causing difficulties to vanish, and the proof-reader, Mr. H. Rule, has been very correct in occasional intricate passages; Messrs. Robert Gibson and George Mellis, foremen respectively, of the composing and press rooms, and Mr. E. P. Homer of the bindery, have been painstaking and skilful; the industrious workers of various departments also have my sincere thanks, as well as the pleasant people in the office.

The Maurice Joyce Engraving Company have skilfully managed the illustrations of different kinds, and yielded their better judgment to my persistence in retaining the "Charts" in their reduced size to avoid folders: their representative, Mr. Edw. E. Wilson, has been willing and courteous, and their artist, Mr. Benson B. Moore, has responded to request.

The M. Silverberg Company have shown patience in cutting and preparing the tartan, and expertness in mounting it,—meeting difficulties which had not been anticipated.

J. L. Shoemaker and Company of Philadelphia have done much towards carrying out the design for the cover.

Last but not least, my wife has detected in time, several glaring errors which had escaped notice, and has made not a few useful suggestions.

To those named and others, I owe gratitude for the efficiency and cheerfulness which have lightened my closing labors, and have brought the latter to an end.

THE COMPILER.

1220 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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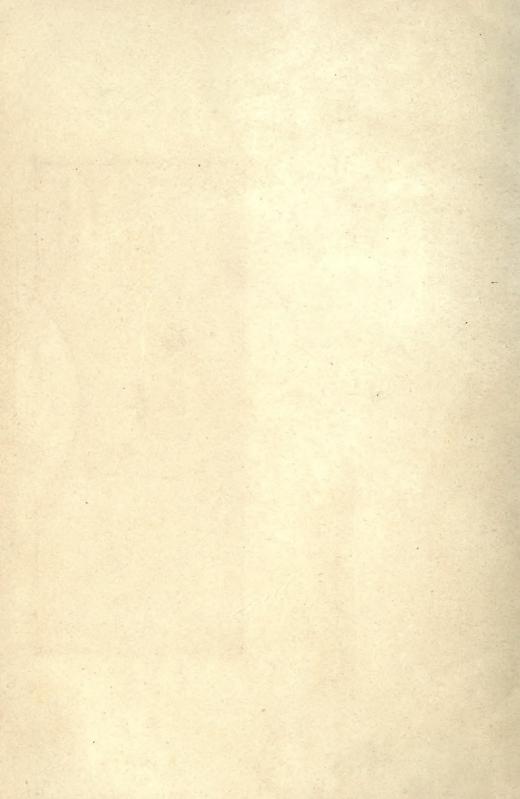
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